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BIKRAMA JIT HASRAT

DĀRĀ SHIKŪH:
LIFE AND WORKS

Indian tradition remembers Dara Shikuh not so much as an emperor's son, but as a mystic philosopher. The great dream of his life — a dream shattered by his untimely death — was the brotherhood of all faiths and the unity of mankind. After him the vision of unity was lost in the atmosphere of hatred and rivalry created by the warring sects and religious schools, and even today we are living in the age of religious disintegration.

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DĀRĀ SHIKŪH : LIFE AND WORKS

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

PAGE
Table of Contents iii
Table of Transliteration iv
Synopsis of Contents v
Materials and Bibliography xiv

INTRODUCTION TO THE WORK OF DĀRĀ SHIKŪH

Chapter I.—Introductory 1
Chapter II.—Safīnat-ul-Awliyā' 43
Chapter III.—Sakīnat-ul-Awliyā' 64
Chapter IV.—Hasanāt-ul-'Ārifīn 105
Chapter V.—Ṭarīqat-ul-Ḥaqīqat 113
Chapter VI.—Risāla'i Ḥaq Numā' 121
Chapter VII.—The Dīwān and the Rubā'īyāt .. 129
Chapter VIII.—Muraqqa' and Dībācha'i Muraqqa' 158

PART TWO

Prologue 174
Chapter IX.—Majma'-ul-Baḥrain 216
Chapter X.—Yoga-Vasishṭa and Bhāgwatgīta... 233
Chapter XI.—Mukālama Bābā Lāl wa Dārā Shikūh 239
Chapter XII.—Sirr-i-Akbar 254

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TABLE OF TRANSLITERATION

ا	a
ب	b
پ	p
ت	t
ث	th
ج	j
چ	ch
ح	ḥ
خ	kh
د	d
ذ	dh
ر	r
ز	z
ژ	zh
س	s
ش	sh
ص	ṣ
ض	ḍ
ط	ṭ
ظ	ẓ
ع	‘a, ‘i, ‘u.
غ	gh
ف	f
ك	k
ق	q
گ	g
ل	l
م	m
ن	n
و	w, ū
ه	h
ء	’a, ’i, ’u
ی	ī, y
Vowels (long)	ā, ī, ū, o
Vowels (short)	a, i, u, o

Note.—(1) Hindi and Indianised Persian words are transliterated according to their pronunciation.

(2) Sanskrit words have been transliterated according to F. Max Müller as given in the Sacred Books of the East Series. For the system of transliteration of Sanskrit words into Persian in the text of *Sirr-i-Akbar*, vide p. 273-74 *Supra*.

SYNOPSIS OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

Birth and childhood—Scanty sources on early life—Education and studies in mysticism—Association with divines of various orders—The Divine Injunction—Initiation into *Qādirī* order—His theosophical outlook not a political forethought—Approach towards Hindū philosophy—Dārā S̲h̲ikūh and Islam—Early works on saints: Ṣūfistic in character; while later writings depict leanings towards the study of Hinduism and translations from Sanskrit—*Risāla'i Ḥaq Numā'* on asceticism reveals a knowledge of *Yoga* system—The year 1056 A.H.: a turning point in his religious studies—Nine years of intense study and contemplation—*Majma'-ul-Baḥrain*, an attempt at the reconciliation of the tenets of *Brahmavidyā* and *Qur'ān*—His liberal outlook and fraternization with the Hindūs displeases the *Ulema*—'Ālamgīrnāma's denunciation of his attitude towards religion typical—Accounts of European writers—Dārā S̲h̲ikūh as a man.

Doctrines embodied in his works: lack the coherence of a system—His mysticism, experimental rather doctrinal devoid of abstract speculations—The doctrine of *Tawḥīd*, his life-long study—The Vision of God (*Rūyat*): the views of the *Mu'tazilites* and the *S̲h̲i'ites* and their refutation; the wrong view held by the *Sunnīs*—*Rūḥ and Abul Arwāḥ*—The five phases of the Vision of God—On Contemplation—Why Spirit comes into matter?—*Rūḥ* and *Abul Arwāḥ*—Etherialisation of physical body—*Fanā'* and *Baqā'*—The Infinity of Cycles—The triune aspect of God—The *Ḥabs-i-Dam*, its method and effects—Apostleship and Saintship: pure, resembling and a combination of pure and resembling—Methods of Divine communion: the Path of Grace and the Path of Exertion—*Nūr* and *Nūr-i-Dhāt*, Ṣūfic conception of the former—Superstitions and dreams. 1—42

CHAPTER II

DĀRĀ SHIKŪH AND THE SAINTS

The Ṣūfi orders, origin and special features—Advent in India and their influence on Indian mind—Dārā Shikūh's views on the religious orders—The *Qādirī* sect and its founder; the advent of *Qādirī* order in India; *Safīnat-ul-Awliyā'*, a biography of the saints—Its Preface—Dārā Shikūh's veneration for the saints; the importance of a spiritual guide—His general classification of saints—Some Aphorisms—Autobiographical references: the *Qādirī* order and his devotion to its founder, meets the Imāms in a dream, a tribute to Mullā Jāmī whom he regards as his teacher, an account of his birth, views on the *Ḥadīqa* of Ḥakīm Sanā'ī, Jahāngīr takes an augury from the *Dīwān* of Ḥāfiẓ, another dream; Mīāṇ Mīr and Dārā Shikūh, visits the tombs of saints at Ghazna—the chronological strictness and accuracy of the lives noticed in the work.

A list of important persons noticed in the *Safīnat-ul-Awliyā'*.—The Epilogue.

A list of the standard authorities quoted in the *Safīnat-ul-Awliyā'*.

Some minor notes on the *Safīnat-ul-Awliyā'*. 43—63

CHAPTER III

SAINTS OF THE *QĀDIRĪ* ORDER

Sakīnat-ul-Awliyā', a biography of the saints of the *Qādirī* order—Dārā Shikūh and the order—Influence of Mīāṇ Mīr and Mullā Shāh—Its Preface and Prologue—

Contents of the *Sakīnat-ul-Awliyā'*—Supernatural element in the *Qādirī* order—Dārā Shikūh's belief in the miracles and its adverse effects—The *Qādirī* doctrines as embodied in the *Sakīnat-ul-Awliyā'* and *Risāla'i Ḥaq Numā'* : The *Dhikr*, rigid disciplines—*Qādirī* system of meditation in four worlds of *Nāsūt*, *Malakūt*, *Jabrūt* and *Lāhūt*—*Qādirī* symbolism.

Life and miracles of Mīāṇ Mīr—Early life—Dārā Shikūh meets the saint in company of his father—His second visit— Dārā shikūh receives instruction in *Mushāhada* and beholds the *Lailat-ul-Qadr*—Jahāngīr and Mīāṇ Mīr.

Life and miracles of Mullā Shāh—Dārā Shikūh's vivid account of his life in the *Sakīnat-ul-Awliyā'*—Other contemporary accounts of the saint's life—Dārā Shikūh meets the saint in Kashmir (1050 A.H.)—Jahān Ārā Begum's biography of Mullā Shāh—Dārā Shikūh induces his sister to join the *Qādirī* fold—Other interesting contents of the *Ṣāḥabiya*—Spiritual attainments of Mullā Shāh—His discourses to his pupils—His life of piety and simplicity—A mystic and a free-thinker—Mullā Shāh's exposition of the Law, the Path and the Truth—His conception of Faith—Mullā Shāh's expectations from the Prince—His letters to the Prince—His miracles—His Poetical compositions.

Dārā Shikūh's letters to Shāh Muḥibullāh and Shāh Dilruba.

Dārā Shikūh and Sarmad. 64—104

CHAPTER IV

Ḥasanāt-ul-'Ārifīn : The Aphorisms of the Saints—Preface: Author's aim in compiling the Sayings—His flings at his opponents—A Supplement to the *Safīnat-ul-Awliyā'*—Its Contents—Number of the saints whose aphorisms have been recorded—Sources of the work—

Verses and Quatrains of eminent poets and mystics—Personal references in the tract. 105—112

CHAPTER V

THE WAY TO THE TRUTH

The *Ṭarīqat-ul-Ḥaqīqat*: A treatise on the different stages (*manāzil*) of the Path—Prologue—Style and subject-matter—Contents—A Description of the thirty stages (*manāzil*). 113—120

CHAPTER VI

THE COMPASS OF TRUTH

The *Risāla'i Ḥaq Numā'*, a treatise on Ṣūfistic practices and physical exercises—Date of its completion and its contents—The *Qādirī* order: line of succession down to the author—Sources on which Dārā S͟hikūh has drawn his materials—How far he has utilised Jāmī's and Irāqī's works—A brief synopsis of Contents—Style—Description of the *Sālik's* journey through the four worlds of *Nāsūt*, *Malakūt*, *Jabrūt* and *Lāhūt*—Supplementary chapters—Some views on asceticism, Ṣūfīsm and pantheism. 121—128

CHAPTER VII

POETICAL COMPOSITIONS OF DĀRĀ S͟HIKUH

1. The *Iksīr-ul-A'ẓam*—the extant copy of the *Dīwān*—Accounts of various Tad͟hkiras concerning Dārā S͟hikūh's poetical genius—Was his *Dīwān* named *Iksīr-i-A'ẓam*?—The importance of the *Dīwān*—Dārā S͟hikūh, a patron of poets.

General features of his poetry: *Ṣūfism* and *Qādirism*—His doctrinal mysticism: intuitive, anti-scholastic and pantheistic—His g͟hazals and rubā'iāt: prosaic, rugged in style; lack originality of thought and expression—Source of his quatrains: an analytical table—Specimens of ver-

ses on (1) *Qādirism* and saints, (2) extreme pantheistic views, (3) condemnation of the pseudo-ascetic and the Mullā, (4) realisation of the Unity, (5) poverty and kingship, (6) didactic tone of the ghazal: *Musāfir*, *Insān al-kāmil Shanākht-i-Khud*—Selected verses.

2. The Quatrains of Dārā Shikūh: collected for the first time from the works of the author. Text with English translation. 129—157

CHAPTER VIII

DĀRĀ SHIKŪH AND FINE ARTS

The *Muraqqa‘* and the *Dībācha’i Muraqqa‘*: Indo-Persian Art under the Mughals—Its general features under Akbar, Jahāngīr, Shāh Jahān and Dārā Shikūh—Dārā Shikūh's tutor, Āqā ‘Abdur Rashīd Dailmī—Dārā Shikūh and Fine Arts of Calligraphy and Painting—Fourteen specimens of his calligraphy—Dārā Shikūh and Painting—The *Dībācha’i Muraqqa‘* and its Text: Extracts—Contents of the *Muraqqa‘*—The *Muraqqa‘* suggests the unity of calligraphy and painting—Specimens of noted calligraphists in the *Muraqqa‘*—The miniatures in the *Muraqqa‘*—Style of the miniatures—The value of the *Muraqqa‘* in Indo-Persian Art. 158—173

PART TWO

STUDIES IN HINDUISM AND TRANSLATIONS FROM SANSKRIT

PROLOGUE

Muslims and Indian Learning with special reference to the translations of Sanskrit works into Persian (and Arabic)

I. Muslim contact with outer world: a great civilising force—The centre of Islamic learning at Baghdād—

Manṣūr, Hārūn and Māmūn—The Barmaks—Official patronage of Indian sciences—Un-official Muslim interest in India and Indian learning—Interest of Arab scholars in Indian sciences—Indian response to Arab interest negligible—Arab travellers and historians on India—Character of early Arabic literature on Indian religion—Indian Medicine—Indian Astronomy—Works on political science, logic, music etc.—Ibn al-Muqaffa' and the Indian *Pañchatantra*— 174—82

II. The second phase of Indo-Arab contact—Muḥammad bin Qāsim to Sultan Maḥmūd—The Delhi Sultanate—Behrām Shāh—(A.H. 414-47), Feroz Shāh (A.H. 752-90) and Ibrāhīm Shāh—Mustaufī, Sirāj 'Afīf and others—Muslim kingdoms of Kashmir and Deccan—Zain-ul-'Ābdīn Shāh (A.H. 824-77) and Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh (ac. A.H. 942).

ALBERUNI (A.D. 973—1048): An outstanding figure in bringing the knowledge of Indian religions and sciences to the Muslim world—His approach towards Indian science, philosophy etc: thorough, searching and cynically critical—His knowledge of Sanskrit works—His translations from Sanskrit.

AMIR KHUSRAU: "The Indian Turk"—His appreciation of India, its sciences and languages—Studied Sanskrit, wrote poetry in Braj Bhāka and attained extraordinary skill in Indian Music. 182—187

III. MUGHAL COURT PATRONAGE: Akbar—Abul Faḍl and others—Abul Faḍl compared with Alberūnī—The Spirit underlying the translations from Sanskrit made for Akbar: semi-political and semi-academic—The *Razmnāma*—'Abdul Qādir Badāūnī and the translations of the *Rāmāyana*, the *Atharva-Veda* and the *Siṇhasana-dvātriṇsatī*—Faiḍī's *Nal wa Daman* and his translations of the *Bhāgwatgīta*, the *Līlāwatī* and the *Katha Sarit Sangra* etc.—Abul Faḍl's expositions of Indian religious systems—His translations—Translations from the Purāṇic literature and other religious works—Translations from Sanskrit works on medicine, mathematics etc.—Works on Indian Music: *Rāghā'i Hindī*, the *Rāg Darpan*, the *Parijataka* and other works—Mirza Fakhr-ud-Dīn's encyclopeadic work on Indian fine arts, the *Tuḥfat-ul-Hind*.

IV. DĀRĀ SHIKŪH: His approach towards Hindu philosophy; intuitive and comparative—His works on Hinduism and translations from Sanskrit—His knowledge of Sanskrit—Sanskrit scholars associated with Dārā Shikūh.

187—215

CHAPTER IX

THE MINGLING OF THE TWO OCEANS

The *Majma'-ul-Baḥrain*: (wr. 1065 A.H.) a treatise on comparative religion—largely verbal and devoid of deep insight—Some outspoken statements of the author—Similarity and divergence of the doctrines: Islamic and Vedantic—Dārā Shikūh's emphasis on the identical points of the both, a commendable effort—The Preface: no fundamental difference between Islam and Hinduism—Knowledge essential for the seeker of the Truth—*Majma'-ul-Baḥrain*, described as a collection of the wisdom and truth of two truth-loving peoples—The contents of the *Majma'-ul-Baḥrain*—Views and criticism of its contents—

Rūḥ or *Ātman*—Conception of Sound: Indian and Islamic—Names of God—*Qiyāmat* and *Mahāpralaya*—*Muktī*: the three-fold *Muktī*—Elements (*'anāṣir*)—The 3 *Ākāśās*—Senses: Internal and External—Attributes of God etc. 216—232

CHAPTER X

The translations of the *Yoga-Vasishṭa* and the *Gīta*.

233—238

CHAPTER XI

SEVEN DIALOGUES ON COMPARATIVE MYTHOLOGY

The *Mukālama Bābā Lāl wa Dārā Shikūh*—Bāba Lāl and the religious tenets of the *Bābā Lālīs*—Dārā Shikūh meets Bābā Lāl—The chronological data—3 paintings and 2 *mathnawīs* commemorating the Dialogues—The Text of the *Mukālama*—The nature of the *Mukālama*: lacks the politico-religious character of that of the 'Ibādat Khāna at Fateḥpur Sīkrī or the religious discussions at the Sassanian Court—

Extracts from the *Mukālama*: On the Hindu conception of the *Nādā* and the Veda—Idol-worship among the Hindus—What is Kāshī?—Questions on Hindu mythology: Rāma, Rāvana and Sīta, Srī Kṛṣṇa's true form at Brajdhām—Recitation of the syllable *Om*—The *Pañchabhūta*—What is Mind?—The Creator and the Created—On Human Soul and Divine Soul—Sleep: its spiritual aspects. 239—253

CHAPTER XII

THE GREAT SECRET

The *Sirr-i-Akbar*: a Persian translation of the Upanishads—Etymology and meaning of the word *Upa-nī-shad*—The contents of the *Sirr-i-Akbar*—The Translation, its early history—Anquetil Duperron's Latin and French versions of the *Sirr-i-Akbar*—Max: Muller's criticism—Schopenhauer's appreciation—Dārā Shikūh's translation of the Upanishads exhibited a unique degree of fascination of Indian philosophy in the West—Franz Mischel's German rendering of the *Sirr-i-Akbar* from Duperron's Latin. 254—258

The nature and quality of Dārā Shikūh's translation—The Preface to the *Sirr-i-Akbar*, a revealing document—

Analysis of the Preface—The Text—Selected passages from the original Sanskrit and their Persian translations from the *Sirr-i-Akbar*—The Transliteration—The Persian-Sanskrit Glossary—Number of the Upanishads, Vedic and non-Vedic included in the Sirr-i-Akbar.—MSS. used for the preparation of the Text—The Glossary. 258—292

MATERIALS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

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Vol. I

INTRODUCTION TO THE WORKS OF DĀRĀ SHIKŪH

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

> "Indian tradition remembers Dārā Shikūh not so much as an emperor's son, but as a mystic philosopher. The great dream of his life—a dream shattered by his untimely death—was the brotherhood of all faiths and the unity of mankind. After him the vision of unity was lost in the atmosphere of hatred and rivalry created by the warring sects and religious schools, and even today we are living in the age of religious disintegration.
>
> (*Cultural Heritage of India*, Vol. II. p. 259.)

BIRTH AND CHILDHOOD

Prince Muḥammad Dārā Shikūh, the eldest son of Shah Jahān and the heir-apparent to the throne, was born in the suburbs of Sāgartāl lake, near Ajmer, on 29 Ṣafar, 1024 A.H. (Monday, 20 March, 1615 A.D.). In the pages of the *Safīnat-ul-Awliyā'*,'[1] Dārā Shikūh himself describes the date of his birth and says that his father, at the age of twenty-four, frequented the tomb of the great saint Mu'inuddīn Chishtī and earnestly prayed for

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[1] *Safīnat-ul-Awliyā'*, an autograph MS. by Dārā Shikūh, which was in the private collection of Dīwān Bahādur Rājā Narindera Nāth of Lahore. The date of the transcription of this valuable MS., which contains 224 folios 10″ × 6″, with written surface about 6½″ × 3½″, lines 15 per page, is 1049 A. H., i.e. the year in which it was compiled by the author. I have already edited this work which would be published shortly. On Fol. 90. A., it gives the following details:

ولادت این فقیر در خطهٔ اجمیر، بالای ساگرتال روی داده در سلخ صفر نصف شب دوشنبه سال
یک هزار بیست و چهار هجری چون در خانهٔ والد ماجد فقیر سه صبیه شده بود و سن مبارک آنحضرت
بیست و چهار سالگی رسیده بود، و از روی اخلاص و عقیده که آنحضرت به حضرت خواجه معین الدین چشتی
داشتند، بهزاران نیاز درخواست پسر نمودند و به برکت ایشان، این کمترین بنده های خود را بوجود آورد۔
امید که توفیق نیکوکاری و رضامندی خود و دوستان خود نصیب گرداند۔ آمین یا رب العالمین

the birth of a son as all his previous children had been daughters. According to the author of the *Pādshāhnāma*, the birth of the heir-presumptive to the throne was hailed with great joy and festivity. Jahāngīr, the grand-father of the child, gave to the heir to his favourite son the name Dārā Shikūh and epithet of the Prince Rose of the Empire, which also gives the chronogram of his birth.[2]

Scanty and Meagre Sources on his Early Life.

Our sources on the childhood and early career of the prince are very scanty. It is indeed unfortunate that we know very little of his early life; the contemporary Mughal chroniclers, having left us very meagre information on the subject. The *Pādshāhnāma* or the court history of the reign of Shāh Jahān, is the most authoritative account of the period. It records very minutely the political career of Dārā Shikūh, his ranks and promotions, gifts of jewels and horses and royal visits, with which he was honoured by his father, on the other hand, it entirely passes over the early career, education, literary activities and religious views of the prince. Next comes the *ʻAmal-i-Ṣāliḥ* of Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kambu: a history of the reign of Shāh Jahān, from his birth to his death in 1665 A.D.; it forms a supplement to the *Pādshāhnāma*, It also deals with the political events of the time and can hardly interest us. Other official and non-official histories of the reign of Shāh Jahān and Aurangzeb, *viz.*, Muḥammad Kāẓim's *ʻAlamgīrnāma*; the *Siyar-ul-Mutā'khkhrīn*, the *Laṭā'if-ul-Akhbār*, an anonymous account of the third Seige of Qandhār, generally attributed to Badīʻ-uz-Zamān Rashīd Khān; Muḥammad Maʻṣūm's *Tārikh-i-Shujāʻī*, Muḥammad Hāshim Khāfī Khān's *Muntakhab-ul-Lubāb*, Shāh Nāwāz's *Ma'āthir-ul-Umerā'* and other semi-historical works, do not throw much light on the childhood, education and literary and religious studies of Dārā Shikūh.

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[2] Vol. I., p. 391.

With such scanty external information, we have no choice but to base our studies mainly on the writings of Dārā Shikūh; from them, if no sufficient evidence is available, we unwillingly turn to the biassed accounts of the contemporary European travellers like Manucci, Bernier, Peter Munday and W. Irvine, whose incidental notices on the life of Dārā Shikūh we may accept with considerable caution and reserve.

Education and Studies in Mysticism

We know practically nothing about the progress made by the young prince in his studies. The Pādshāhnāma of 'Abdul Ḥamīd Lāhorī[3] only mentions "*ba maktab raftan,*" or the going to the school of the prince at the age of thirteen and tells us that Mullā 'Abdul Laṭīf Sulṭānpurī was appointed as his teacher.[4] The primary and secondary course of Dārā's studies, seems to have been of the same stereotyped character as that of an average Mughal prince, who was usually taught the Qur'ān, the standard works of Persian poetry and the history of Timūr. The chapter on the Education of a Mughal Prince, by Sir Jadunath Sarkar in his *Studies in Mughal* India, suggests the lines on which we may presume that our young prince was educated. He studied the Qur'ān and the Ḥadīth but with his eyes open and rejected from his childhood, the commentaries of the orthodox school. It was Mullā 'Abdul Laṭīf, as we know, who was responsible for the intellectual advancement of the prince, who developed scholarly habits and imbibed a passion for speculative science. His sufistic learnings from an early age led him to study the well-known works on Islamic mysticism. This fact he mentions in his introduction the birth of a son as all his previous children had been daughters. According to the author of the *Pādshāhnāma*, the birth of the heir-presumptive to the throne was hailed with great joy and festivity. Jahāngīr, the grand-father of the child, gave to the heir to his favourite son the name Dārā Shikūh and epithet of the Prince Rose of the Empire, which also gives the chronogram of his birth.[2]

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[3] *Ibid.* p. 344-345.

[4] For an account of his life and accomplishments, *vide.* *Tadhkira'i 'Ulama'i Hind*, p. 83.

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[3] *Ibid.* p. 344-345.

[4] For an account of his life and accomplishments, *vide.* *Tad̲h̲kira'i 'Ulama'i Hind*, p. 83.

Association with the Divines of various Religious Orders.

In his youth he came into contact with many Muslim and Hindu mystics and acquired a knowledge of the devotional practices of the Ṣūfis. Many of these were liberal thinkers, who belonged to the catholic school of thought and who were the exponents of "emancipation of the individual soul from the dead weight of dogma." His association with them widened his outlook and helped him to grasp the essence of religion through intuitive perception without attaching any importance to the dogmatic formalism of Islam.

Among other saints of different orders, whose life he has noticed in his works, especially the *Safīnat-ul-Awliyā’*, and the *Sakīnat-ul-Awliyā’*, mention must be made of Mīān Mīr (d. 1635 A.D.) and Mullā Shāh Badakhshānī (d. 1661 A.D.), the most prominent saintly followers of the Qādirī order, with whom he was on terms of most affectionate intimacy, and both of whom exercised an overwhelming influence over his mind and finally initiated him into the most liberal and the devotional teachings of the Ṣūfism of the *Qādiriyya* fraternity. To this fact he alludes in the *Risālai’* Ḥaq *Numā’* : " This *faqīr* Dārā Shīkūh belongs to that class of devotees, who are attracted to God naturally........He has come to the mysteries of Godhead through the grace of saints and friends of God. He has benefited thereafter, by the society of those masters and enquired into the truth of their teachings............One night he received the inspiration that the best path of reaching Divinity was that of the Qādirī order."[5]

The Divine Injunction.

Referring to this divine injunction he observes: "In the prime of my youth, *Hātif* (an unknown voice) addressing me four times said, 'God would give you such a gift which has not been bestowed upon any emperor of the world' In course of time the fore-shadowing of it began to manifest and day by day the veil was lifted little by little."[6] Again in the *Sakīnat-ul-Awliyā'* he remarks that the interpretation of this dream, according to some gnostics, was that Divine knowledge was promised to him. He says, "When I got up, I thought that it must certainly be the gift of Divine knowledge that God would bestow upon me as His real favour. I was always looking forward to it. In the year 1049 A.H., I succeeded in obtaining the favour of one of His friends (Mullā S͟hāh). He showed to me every kindness and the doors to Divine Knowledge were thrown open to me . . . . . I gained in one month what others would have done in a year. Briefly, notwithstanding my outward adherence to external formalism, I am not one of those who observe it, and without being among the saints, I am one of them."[7]

His initiation into the *Qādiriyya* order provided much scope for his spiritual attainment and opened for him the path of self-realisation and purity. His contact with other mystics, both Muhammadan and Hindu, like S͟hāh Muḥibullāh, S͟hāh Dilrūba, S͟hāh Muḥammad Lisānullāh Rostakī, Bābā Lāl Dās

His Initiation and its Effects.

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[5] *Risāla'i-Ḥaq Numā'* Lucknow lithograph, p. 8.

[6] *Ibid.* This is also to be found in the *Sakīnat-ul-Awliyā'*, (Urdu translation) Lahore, p. 5.

[7] *Ibid.* p. 5.

Bairāgī, the saintly follower of Kabīr and the famous scholar-saint Jagan Nāth Miśra, suggested to his mind the idea of establishing a sort of *rapprochement* between the apparently divergent principles of Islamic mysticism and Hindu philosophy. Gradually his interest in Ṣūfism inclined him towards mystic systems of other religions, and by his associations with the divines of various religious thoughts, he studied diligently Hindu mythology, gnosticism and Vedānta philosophy; and also the *Psalms*, the *Gospel* and *Pentateuch*. Following the esoteric path of Islam, like his great-grandfather Akbar, he patronised and gathered round him learned pandits, eminent Ṣūfis and liberal Christian missionaries. He read Sanskrit and later with the help of learned pandits of Benares, made a Persian translation of the *Upanishads*, which was soon followed by similar translations of the *Yoga-Vasiṣṭa* and the *Bhāgwat Gīta*. His deep interest in the cosmogony, metaphysics and the mystic symbolisms of the Hindus is manifest from his Discourses with Bābā Lāl known as the *Mukālama*. It should not be considered, as is asserted by many,[s] that Dārā Shikūh's characteristic theosophist outlook and his leanings towards Hinduism were due to a political motive and that he made most strenuous exertions as an heir-apparent to the much-coveted throne of Delhi, to overcome the difficulties which his predecessors might bequeath him—to become a more popular monarch to both the Hindus and the Mussalmans. That certainly was the case with Akbar, who made an attempt to weld into a political synthesis, the divergent creeds and different racial elements of India. Dārā Shikūh's approach to-

His theosophist outlook: not a political forethought.

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[s] *Ruq'āt-i-Ālamgīr, Vol. I.* Here it will be noted with great surprise that even the modern Muslim writers misrepresent the basic ideas and aims of the chief exponents of the evolution of Indo-Muslim thought in Medieval India. *Vide.* p. 343,351-371 and 401.

wards Hinduism was from a different point of view. It was the approach of a seeker of truth, in whose heart was a burning passion for knowledge, and who, irrespective of the basis of its source, eagerly sought it wherever he could find it.

Let us now proceed to discuss briefly, the main object of his approach towards Hindu philosophy. To quote his own statement to this effect, which he makes in a lengthy preface, which I have given in full elsewhere*, His approach towards Hindu philosophy he observes that he had many opportunities of meeting savants of diverse religions and had heard their views on the Unity of God, but the doctrine as expounded in their theological books, failed to satisfy him. Thus he remarks: "And whereas, I was impressed with a longing to behold the gnostic divines of every sect and to hear their lofty expressions of monotheism and had cast my eyes upon many theological books and had been a follower thereof for many years; my passion for beholding the Unity, which is a boundless ocean, increased every moment. Subtle doubts arose into my mind for which I had no possibility of solution. And whereas the holy Qur'ān is almost totally allegorical and at the present day the understanders thereof are very rare, I became desirous of collecting into view all the revealed books, as the very word of God itself might be its own commentary and if in one book it be compendious in another it might be found diffusive."[9]

Proceeding, he remarks that in his quest for Unity of God, he came to know that the Hindu monotheists had given clear exposition of the same, and so turning towards Hinduism he observes: "Thereafter I began to ponder as to why the discussion about monotheism is so conspicuous in India and why the Indian mystics and theologians (*'Ulamā'i ẓāhirī wa bāṭinī*) of ancient India do not disavow the Unity of God nor do they find any fault with the unitarians."[10]

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* *Infra.* Chapter XII.

[9] *Sirr-i-Akbar*, also noticed in the *Historical Fragments of the Mughul Empire.* (London), 1782.

Again he remarks that as a 'mystic enthusiast and an ardent advocate of the Unity of God,' he searched for the Reality. "And as this unsolicitious seeker after the Truth," he observes, "had in view the principle of the fundamental unity of the Personality and not Arabic, Syriac, Hebrew and Sanskrit languages, he wanted to make an exact and correct translation of the '*Upanekhet*' into Persian; for, it is a treasure of monotheism and there are few who are thoroughly conversant with it even among the Indians. Thereby he also wanted to solve the mystery which underlies their efforts to conceal it from the Muslims." Admitting the weight and superiority of Hinduism in point of the priority of revelation of the four *Vedas*, he continues that he translated the *Upanishads* in the year 1067 A.D., without any worldly motive and gave it the name of *Sirr-i-Akbar* or the Great Secret, "which without doubt or suspicion, is the first of all heavenly books, in point of time, the source of the fountain of Reality and the ocean of monotheism, *in conformity with the Holy Qur'ān and even a commentary* thereon."[11]

In support of this assertion he cites the following verse: *Indeed there is a book, which is hidden. None shall touch it but the purified ones. It is a revelation by the Lord of the worlds.* (Qur'ān. LVI: 78-81.). Commenting upon this verse he remarks: "It is evident to any person that this is not applicable to the Psalms or to the Book of Moses or to the Gospel and by the word '*revelation*,' it is clear that it is not applicable to the

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[10] *Ibid.*

[11] *Ibid.*

Reserved Tablet (*Lauḥ-i-Maḥfūẓ*); and whereas the 'Upanekhets', which are 'secrets to be concealed', are the essence of this book and the sentences of the Holy *Qur'ān* are literally found therein, of a certainity therefore, the hidden book is this most ancient book."[12]

While making such bold assertions and being actuated by a desire to establish a fundamental similarity between the Islamic and Hindu doctrines on the Unity of God, he was conscious of the narrow sectarianism of the orthodox school, to whom all referred on all questions on Islamic law and doctrine. He treats these '*ignoramuses*' with contemptuous disregard and observes: "On the other hand, the ignoramuses of the present age—the highwaymen in the path of God, who have established themselves for erudite and who, falling into the traces of polemics and molestation and apostatising from and disavowing the true proficients in God and the unitarians, display resistance against all the words of monotheism, which is most evident from the glorious *Qur'ān* and the authentic traditions of indubitable prophecy."[13]

Dārā Shikūh and Islam.

'Politics had a secondary place in the thoughts of Dārā Shikūh; his first concern being the study of religious mysticism.' A close examination of his works given in the following pages, in their correct chronological order will reveal the fact that his earlier studies were purely Ṣūfistic and were not extended to the mystic systems of other religions:—

ON SAINTS AND MYSTICISM

1. *Safīnat-ul-Awliyā'* (1049 A.H.).
2. *Sakīnat-ul-Awliyā'* (1052 A.H.).
3. *Risāla'i Ḥaq Nūmā'* (1056 A.H.).

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[12] *Ibid.*

[13] *Ibid.*

4. *Ṭarīqat-ul-Ḥaqīqat.*
5. *Ḥasanāt-ul-'Arifīn* (1062).
6. *Iksīr-i-A'ẓam* (Diwān-i-Dārā Shikūh).

II. *STUDY OF HINDUISM AND TRANSLATIONS FROM SANSKRIT*

7. *Majma'-ul-Baḥrain* (1065 A.H.).
8. *Mukālama'i Bābā Lāl wa Dārā Shikūh* (1062 A.H.).
9. *Yoga Vasiṣṭa* written at his instance (1066 A.H.).
10. *Sirr-i-Akbar* (1067 A.H.).
11. *Bhāgwat Gīta* (1067 A.H.).

His earlier works, as can be clearly seen, the *Safīnat-ul-Awliyā'* and the *Sakīnat-ul-Awliyā'* written in 1049 A.H. and 1052 A.H., were the outcome of his association and respect for ṣūfis and religious divines. The *Ḥasanāt-ul-'Ārifīn or the Ṣūfic Aphorisms*, a supplement to these two, appeared a little later in 1062 A.H. In all these treatises Dārā Shikūh has set forth in detail the lives and teachings of saints of different religious orders with sidelights on his own personal religious experiences. "Following the traditional method of ṣūfistic theology, he gives expression to his inner ecstasies and his ardent aspirations towards the Ineffable. The method of treatment is generally intuitive and tendency of his thought is essentially pantheistic, having for its fundamental motive the direct contact or the union of human spirit with the Divine Being and the transformation of duality into Unity."[14] Though his mystic biographies are characterised with a deep undercurrent of devotional fervour, yet by this time, he had not developed that catholicity of outlook and heterodox Ṣūfi pantheism, which he knew would be bitterly opposed by the diehards of orthodox school, "the blockheads without insight", yet he clearly states: "Before this time, in a state of ecstasy and enthusiasm, I uttered some words appertaining to sublime knowledge, certain sorbid and abject fellows and some dry, insipid and bigoted persons, on account of their narrow outlook, accused me of heresy. It was then that I realised the importance of compiling the aphorisms of the great believers in Unity, the saints who have hitherto acquired the knowledge of Reality, so that these may serve as an argument against the fellows who were really imposters (*Dajjāls*: lit. Anti-Christ), although they wore the face of Christ, and are Pharaohs and *Abū Jahls*, although they assume the guise of Moses and of the followers of Muḥammad."[15]

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[14] Dr. Yusif Hussain in the *Prabuddha Bharata* Vol. XLIV, No. 4.

Progressive studies in Asceticism.

The *Risāla'i Ḥaq Numā'*, completed in 1056 A.H., marks the first advance of his religious thought towards the esoteric aspect of Islam. Herein he describes the four planes of existence; *viz.*, the Physical Plane, the Astro-mental Plane, the Plane of Bliss and the Plane of Divinity, corresponding respectively with the four states of human consciousness known as wakefulness, dream, sleep and trans-consciousness. Though his works, as early as 1056 A.H., do not betray his leanings towards the Hindu doctrines and he says that the *Risāla* records, "without a hair's difference the austere practices, meditations, method of sitting, moving and acting of the holy prophet," and that it is a compendium of the standard works on Ṣūfism like the *Fatūḥāt, the Faṣūṣ, the Lawā'iḥ* and *the Lama'āt* etc., yet the account of the modes and internal significance of these practices seem to have been borrowed from the *Yoga* system of Hindu asceticism. From this, we can presume, that he was gradually moving towards the study of asceticism and the various stages of spiritual development and the ways and means of reaching the pitch of spiritual perfection. These he considered essential for "becoming proficient in mystic contemplation and introspection."

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[15] *Ḥasanāt-ul-'Ārifīn*. MS. in the Punjab Univerty Library (fol. 2 b.); the Preface to the treatise is interesting to read:

امابعد میگوید بے حزن و اندوہ محمد دارا شکوہ چوں دریں ایّام کہ سال یک ہزار و شصت و دو ہجری سال سی و ہشتم است از ولادت
این فقیر ۔ خاطر بالکلیہ از کتب اہل سلوک و طریقت ملول گردیدہ بود و جز توحید صرف منظور نبود و از روی وجد
و ذوق اکثر کلمات بلند حقایق بعبارت سر بر میزد، پست فطرتانِ دون ہمّت و زاہدان خشک بے حلاوت
از کوتاہ بینی درصدد طعن و انکار میشدند، بنا براں بخاطر ایں فقیر رسید کہ آنچہ از کبرای موحدان و بزرگان
عارفان، کہ بہترین مخلوقات این وقت اند و راست بازاں در معاملات اند، سخنان بلند کہ آنرا متشابہات
شطحیات نامند، صادر شدہ و در کتب رسائل ایں قوم متفرق است با آنچہ از عارفان ایں وقت شنیدہ
جمع نماید تا حجّت قاطع و برہان ساطع بر دجاجلۂ عیسیٰ لقباں و فراعنۂ موسیٰ صفتان، و ابوجہلای محمّدی
مشربان باشد ....." (حسنات العارفین ۲ ب)

The year 1056 A. H. : A Turning Point.

The year 1056 A.H. was a turning point in his studies in religion. It marked the beginning of his examination of the system of various religions, but till 1062 A.H. he did not express his opinion. With an insatiable thirst for Knowledge and Truth he occupied himself in its acquisition. He patronised learned men of all denominations: saints, theologians, philosophers, poets and mystics of every community —Muslims, Hindus, Christians and Jews etc. He studied Sanskrit and got deeply interested in the *Vedānṭa* and *Yoga* philosophy, Hindu ritual and mythology and from the learned pandits of Benares, he learnt the secrets of Indian thought and legend and initiated himself into the practices of the *Yoga* by constant association with *Yogis* and *sanniyasis*. Nine years of constant restlessness in search for Truth and Knowledge were spent in studying what was best in Indian thought and gradually his religious outlook became more and more broadened; till at last in 1065 A.H. a new idea of universal brotherhood dawned upon his mind. During this year appeared the *Majma'-ul-Baḥrain*, or the Mingling of the Two Oceans, a work of remarkable merit and originality, wherein is made the first attempt of its own kind to reconcile the doctrines of *Brahma-Vidyā* and the tenets of *al-Qur'ān*. The *Majma'-ul-Baḥrain*, though a treatise on the technical terms of Indian pantheism and Ṣūfi phraseology, devoid of any deep insight or spirituality, is of extreme importance to a student of comparative religion in as much as that therein Dārā Shikūh has tried to bring out the points of similarity and identity between Hinduism and Islam and has endeavoured to show where these two oceans of mystic thought meet. "His attempt to achieve this end clearly shows that he did not want to engraft the one on the other through a shallow eclecticism like his grandfather Akbar. He was actuated by a desire to prove that both Islam and Hinduism, in appearance so fundamentally dissimilar, are essentailly the same. Both represent spiritual efforts of man to realize Truth and God."[16]

Reaction in orthodox circles.

This came as a bombshell to the orthodox Muhammadan circle, who denounced him as a heretic, atheist, hypocrite, opportunist and devoid of all religion. His liberal outlook and fraternization with Hindus was ridiculed. While condemning his conception, which he had formed after much study and contemplation that there existed fundamental unity between Indian thought and Islamic mysticism, the author of *'Ālamgīr-*

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[16] *L'Inde Mystique au Moyen Age.* (Paris), also *Prabuddha Bharata*, Vol. XLIV. No. 4.

nāma charges him with the zeal of an orthodox Musalman: "Dārā Shikūh in his later years," he remarks, "did not restrict himself to free-thinking and heretical notions which he had adopted under the name of *Taṣawwuf*, but showed an inclination for the religion of the Hindus. He was constantly in the society of *Brahmans*, *yogis*, and *sannyasis*, and he used to regard these worthless teachers of delusions as learned and true masters of wisdom. He considered their books which they call *Bed* as being the word of God and revealed from heaven, and he called them ancient and excellent books, in the translation of which he was much employed. Instead of the sacred name of *Allāh*, he adopted the Hindu name *Prabhū*..................and he had this name engraved in Hindi letters upon his rings .... Through these perverted opinions he had given up the prayers, fastings and other obligations imposed by the law and..........it became manifest that if Dārā Shikūh obtained the throne, and established his power, the foundations of the faith would be in danger and the precepts of Islam would be changed for the *rant* of Infidelity and Judaism." [17]

It is no denying the fact that it was his interest in the Hindu scriptures and especially his writing of the *Majma'-ul-Baḥrain*, which procured a decree from the legal advisers of Aurangzeb that "Dārā Shikūh had apostatised from the law and having vilified the religion of God had allied himself with heresy." Consequently an order for his execution was given in 1069 A.H. (1659 A.D.).

His Idealism.

Let us now turn to the other side of the medal. In all his works, as will be shown in the following pages, there is not the slightest indication, that he had renounced Islam and had become a Hindu, as is alleged by some authors. The very introductions to his works, which he has begun with the praise of God, the Prophet, his companions and descendants, will belie such presumption. With a unique idealism in view, he tried to liberate the true spirit of Islam from the dogmatism of the time. In his ambition " to supplant exoteric Islam by esoteric mysticism as a living moral force among the Muslim intellectuals," the forces of conservatism and reaction termed him as an apostate and a heretic. Like many Ṣūfis of Islam, he too, differed from the orthodox in the interpretation of the true spirit of Islam and lost his head. Never refusing his outward conformity to the fundamental principles of his own faith, he openly accepted the views of other religions and assumed a policy of *Ṣulḥ-i-Kul* or Peace with All. His attempts to prove that the ideas of the Indian cosmogony and certain other aspects of Vedānta philosophy as contained in the Upanishads are similar to those embodied in the holy Qur'ān, sought to demonstrate the essential harmony between the two great religions. His conception was that the ancient Indian pholisophical thought was linked with the monotheistic ideals of Islamic religion. This new formulae, did not however, aim to prove that the acceptance of each other's theories with regard to the religious practices of each is essential, but that the Truth in both the religious was linked with each other by its own underlying unity. The former, would certainly, have aroused in his mind, to a great extent, manifold controversial aspects of different established principles in both the religions, which he could never have been able to harmonise, even in the light of his new formula of " underlying unity." How far did he succeed in his attempt to bridge the gulf between the two religions is a very sad tale to tell; but it cannot be denied that it came as an inspiration to every man of wider outlook, Hindu or Muslim, placing religion on a broader foundation, it tended to create a brotherhood of common religion between the Hindus and the Mussalmans.

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[17] Muḥammad Kāẓim in Elliot's translation. Vol. VII, p. 179.

Such attempts, though startling innovations, denounced by the orthodoxy as rank heresy, left a very strong impression in their wake. It harmonised, to a great extent, the relations between the two communities and swept away social and to some extent, religious differences. Bernier graphically sums up Dārā Shikūh' attitude towards Islam and other religions in the following words: " Born a Muhametan, he continued in the exercise of that religion; but although publicly thus professing his adherence to the faith, Dārā Shikūh, was, in private, a Gentile with a Gentile and a Christian with a Christian."[18]

Accounts of European Writers.

The European writers have jumped at wild conclusions about the religion of Dārā Shikūh, simply because he showed proclivities to other religions and "was a Gentile with a Gentile and a Christian with a Christian." Munacci says that Dārā had no religion but praised the doctrines of any religion with which he came in contact. Like his great-grandfather, he took delight in polemic discussion between the doctors of different creeds. He was very fond of Europeans especially of the Jesuit Father Buzee. Continuing, Manucci narrates a fantastic story to show that Dārā Shikūh died a Christian at heart. "During his confinement in the prison," he writes, "when his son Siphar Shikūh was separated from him, he begged that Father Buzee or some other Christian priest should be brought to him, and finding himself unable to obtain his wish, he began in loud and heart-rending voice to say the words: 'Muḥammad killed me and the son of God (Christ) gave me life.' "[19] Such illustrative accounts of the European writers must not

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[18] Travels, p. 6.

[19] *Storia de Mogor,* Vol. I. pp. 221:—

محمدؐ مرا بکشد، ابن مریم مرا جان داد

be taken at their face value but accepted with great caution and reserve.

Neither was it his aim to adapt Muhammadan formulae, contained in Islamic theology to Hindu scriptures, but, as we have seen, as an ardent lover of comparative religion, he became familiar with the spirit of Hindu thought, mainly restricting his approach towards the various identical points of asceticism and religious practices of the both. He never discarded the fundamental principles of Islam and never wavered in the strict performance of his religious duties. He was most assiduous in paying visits to the shrines of Muslim saints and treated with utmost reverence and admiration all the living saints who had acquired a fame for piety. This was because he did not regard Hinduism and Islam as two entirely opposite camps. He knew that the conflict between the *pandit* and the *mullā* was on the ground of the rituals, but that in spiritual matters they could be easily reconciled [20]

Dārā Shikūh was a Muslim and a member of the *Qādirī* fraternity. His toleration and admiration for other religions must always be taken in the light that it forms a starting point in the evolution of Indo-Muslim thought,—an early attempt to transplant Indian thought into the Islamic world. With all his Sanskrit learning, he was a devout Muslim and never tried to apply Vedāntic methods to the explanation of the fundamental doctrines as enunciated in the Qur'ān. In this, as well as, in his belief, he stood his ground firmly and refused to be led behind the Vedāntists though he unconsciously applied Qur'ānic terminology in the explanation of Hindu philosophical terms, in his translation of the Upanishads. Notwithstanding, charges to the contrary, he possessed an unwavering faith in his own religion in the light of the true spirit of the mystics, which, undoubtedly, gave the tone and direction to nearly all subsequent attempts to comprehend with calm and sobriety the spiritual greatness of the two religions. "As the continuator of a short line of activity began by his great grandfather Akbar, he is also an historical figure in the development of Indian thought. For all these reasons and many others, we welcome the present work (Majma'-ul-Baḥrain) in which beyond the gulf of death, to the voice of Hindu-Muslim unity, he has given life again, sincere and tragic."[21]

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[20] Dārā Shikūh: a Biography, Vol. I.

As a Man: Account of European Writers.

Before proceeding further, a word about Dārā Shikūh as a man may be mentioned here. W. Irvine has summed up his character in these words :—"He was a man of dignified manners, of comely countenance, joyous and polite in conversation, ready and gracious of speech, of extraordinary liberality, kindly and compassionate, but over-confident in his opinion of himself, considering himself competent in all things and having no need of advisers."[22] Similar is the account given by other European writers. Bernier[23] also says that he entertained too exalted opinion of himself, believed he could accomplish everything by the powers of his own mind............that he was irascible, apt to menace, abusive and insulting even to great *Omrahs*. It is really unfortunate that the prince, who devoted the greater part of his life to carrying on a literary propaganda for the promotion of peace and concord between the two conflicting creeds of India, should be vilified thus. The European always judges the Easterner by his own standards. The losing side always gets scanty justice at his hands. Lanepoole calls him

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[21] *Majma'-ul-Baḥrain* (Bib. Ind.) p. 4.

[22] *Op. cit.*

[23] *Travels*, p. 6.

"inordinately conceited, self-satisfied and an emancipated antagonist.[24]" Had the vision of these European historians transcended the ordinary limitations imposed by worldly conventions, they would have certainly known Dārā Shikūh as a man, who was never proud and self-conceited. Not withstanding his princely dignity and intellectual gifts, he was kind and humble and was never extremely intolerant of advice and contradition. On the contrary, he accepted advice on philosophical and theological matters irrespective of the social status or the religious creed of the adviser, be he a Hindu mendicant like Bābā Lāl or a missionary of the Company of Jesus like the Reverend Father Buzee.

II

His Mysticism: Experimental.

Never perhaps, in the whole of the history of Muslim rule in India, was there a prince, devoted with equal fervour and passion to the essential spirituality of life than Dārā Shikūh. He sought knowledge relating to the Truth and Reality of Being and postulated definite doctrines pertaining to their basic conception in Islamic mysticism. These doctrines are embodied in his works viz., the *Risāla'i Ḥaq Numā'* the *Safīnat-ul-Awliyā'*, the *Sakīnat-ul-Awliyā'*, the *Ṭarīqat-ul-Ḥaqīqat*, and the *Ḥasanāt-ul-'Arifīn*. Some of these are included in the *Majma'-ul-Baḥrain* and others are scattered in his quatrains and extant poetical compositors. Hence we find that doctrines which his works unfold, lack the coherence of a system. Taking them as a whole, we realise that his mysticism is experimental rather than doctrinal and is completely devoid of abstract speculations. The *Risāla* is a compendium of various works on Islamic mysticism and the *Ṭarīqat*, a treatise on the different stages of spiritual illumination, is somewhat didactic. But in all we find the echo of one dominant sentiment. They appear to have deeply influenced his religious life and are the fruit of a dearly bought experience.

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[24] Vide. *Aurangzeb*, p. 22.

Let us now turn to some of the doctrines proclaimed by Dārā Shikūh as embodied in his works.

The doctrine of the Unity of God, as we have already described, was his life-long study. Its perfect realisation through devotional aspects of knowledge was his goal. This doctrine is foremost in all Islamic mysticism and is the creed of nearly all of the chief Ṣūfī exponents like the pioneers of the *Qādirī* and *Chishtī* orders. To the former Dārā Shikūh owed his spiritual illumination. Without a firm belief in *Tawḥīd*, the attainment of Divine Communion for a Ṣūfī neophyte is an impossibility. The stage of annihilation of Self and union without real separation is its basic principle: "Everything is He, I am nothing;"[25] or again: "There is no real existence apart from God. Man is a reflection of the Absolute Being."[26] This closely follows the principle of Self-negation and the denial of one's own Self. He must know that all his actions depend upon the Almighty. He should perceive that "All is He and all is by Him and all is His." Dārā Shikūh writes: "When thou hast realised that 'everything is He and thou art nothing,' then it would inevitably follow that thou shouldst know thyself, as thou art in reality and will no longer remain in the bonds of consciousness of "I" and "Thou". It is here that exists the truth of Unity and light of Certainty. Verily the Qur'ān says: '*He is within your very souls but you vision Him not.*'

The Doctrine of *Tawḥīd.*

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[25] *Risāla'i Ḥaq Numā'*, Panini Office, Allahabad, 1921, p. 21.

[26] *Ṭarīqat-ul-Ḥaqīqat*, in the *Kulliyāt-i-Dārā Shikūh*, Vol. I., p. 3.

It is, therefore, thy duty to know thy own essence, so that thou mayst know thyself and doubts and misconceptions may not come into thy mind and thou mayst not consider this world of relativity as a veil on the face of Essence.''[27] He expresses the same idea in one of his quatrains:

"Here is the secret of *Tawḥīd*, O friend, understand it;
Nowhere exists anything but God.
All that you see or know *other* than Him,
Verily is *separate* in name, but in essence *one* with God."[28]

The *Huwiyyat.*

While giving a description of the *Huwiyyat* or the Truth, he does not limit his conception to the similitude from the manifestations. He sees Unity in plurality. Purity and impurity are all aspects of His Omnipotence. All emanate from the fountain of Godhead. One who thinks even the smallest atom to be separate from Him, will miss the Truth and will be deprived of the blessing of union and knowledge. "O friend! when the ocean of Reality begins to move," he remarks, "then on the surface appear waves and forms and hundreds and thousands of bubbles and spheres come out of it and they constitute these heavens and earths. But these cannot be separate from the Ocean; and if thou shouldst try to separate any particular wave or whirlpool from the Ocean, thou canst not succeed. Therefore though every one of these has a separate name and form, yet in essence and reality it is one."[29] Such is his conception of Unity in duality. The former, according to him, does not become manifold through numerousness, "as the ocean does not become split up into many parts owing to its waves." In one of his quarains he says:

"Like an ocean is the essence of the Supreme Self,
Like forms in water are all souls and objects;

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[27] *Risāla'i Ḥaq Numā'*, p. 23.
[28] *Ibid.* p. 24.
[29] *Ibid.* p. 23.

The ocean heaving and stirring wthin,
Transforms itself into drops, waves and bubbles.''[30]

At another place visualising God in the Universal person he observes, "Truly, indeed very truly to the eye that can see, the *whole* stands clearly manifest in the *part;* the world-illuminating sun can be recognised in every shining particle of the sand... "[31] From this stage of Divine Unity, where the consciousness between "I" and "Thou" vanishes, the Ṣūfi proceeds towards his final goal ——the stage of *Fanā-fil-Ḥaq*, or Submergence into Unity. It is here that he exclaims:

"He whom I look is I, and I love him;
Like two spirits, we are in one body.
Look at me and look at him,
See him and see us both."[32]

At this stage Dārā Shikūh asserts,[33] that partial existence becomes Universal existence and all fear, grief, fancy of duality and separation are removed from the heart. The fear of punishment and the anxiety of reward also vanishes. Man reaches the Unity with eternal salvation. He proceeds to elucidate this "state" with the following quatrain:

"So long it does not realise its separation from the ocean,
The drop remains a drop:
So long he does not know himself to be the Creator,
The created remains a created."33 *

And the following quatrain:

"O you, in quest of God, you seek him everywhere,
You verily are the God, not apart from Him!

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[30] *Ibid.*

[31] *Risāla*, p. 24.

[32] Nicholson: *Studies in Islamic Mysticism.*

[33] *Risāla'i Ḥaq Numā'* p. 26.

* *Ibid.*

Already in the midst of the boundless ocean,
Your quest resembles the search of a drop for the ocean!"[34]

"When thou hast reached this stage," he goes on, "then arises the sun of Truth and Unity and there are removed all effects of fancies and thy lower self-consciousness............When thou shalt carry this stage to perfection, there will remain no doubt that *thou art the Truth*.[35] Here incidentally, he is swept away by a wave of emotion. He was conscious of his own shortcomings due to the material aspect of his life. "O friend," he bursts forth, "renounce worldy kingship and take up wisdom, knowledge and truth." Concluding with the following quatrain, he shows his innermost soul:

"In Thy *separation*, I have suffered pangs of anxiety,
In *union* with Thee, I have lost my own consciousness and existence.
Then happiness dawned on my soul and became my lot,
Now shall I pass my days in peace, both in body and mind."[36]

The Vision of God.

The Vision of God (*Rūyat*), according to him,[37] either by the Prophets or perfect saints, whether in this world or in the one hereafter, with the outer or inner eyes, cannot be doubted or disputed; and the People of Book (*Ahl-i-Kitāb*), the perfect divines and mystics of all religions—whether they are believers in the Qur'ān, the Vedās, the Book of Moses or the Old or New Testaments—have a common faith in this respect. Now, one who disbelieves in the Vision of God, is an ignorant and disillusioned member of his own religion; for, the Sanctified Person, who is Omnipotent, how can He not have the power to manifest Himself? This doctrine has been explained very clearly by the *Sunnī* doctors. But if it is maintained, that even the Pure Self (*Dhāt-i-Baḥt*) can be beheld, it is an impossibility; for, the Pure Self is elegant and undetermined, and, as He cannot be determined, He is manifest in the veil of elegance only, and as such cannot be beheld, and such Vision is an impossibility. But the suggestion, that He can be beheld in the world hereafter and not in this world, is groundless, for, if He is Omnipotent, He is potent to manifest himself in any manner, anywhere and at any time He likes. "My own view is," he observes,[38] "that one who cannot behold Him in this world, will hardly be able to behold Him in the world hereafter, as God hath said in this verse: *And whosoever is blind in this, he shall be blind in the hereafter.*"[39]

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[34] *Ibid.* p. 26.

[35] *Ibid.*

[36] *Ibid.* p. 27.

[37] *Majma'-ul-Baḥrain, (Bib. Ind.)*, p. 96.

The *Mu'tazilites*[40] and the *Shī'ites*, he continues, who are opposed to the doctrine of *Rūyat*, have deviated from the right course in this matter, for, had they denied only the possibility of the Vision of the Pure Self, there would have been some justification, but their denial of all forms of Vision of God is a great mistake; the reason being that most of the prophets and perfect divines have beheld God with their ordinary eyes and have heard His holy words without any intermediary and now, when they are, by all means, capable of hearing the words of God, why should they not be capable of beholding Him? Verily, they must be so; and just as it is obligatory to have faith in God, the Angels, the Revealed Books, the Prophets, the Ressurrection, the Destiny (*Qaḍā-o-Qadr*), the Good and the Evil and the holy shrines etc., so it is obligatory and incumbent to have faith in the Vision of God.

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[38] *Ibid.*

[39] *Qur'ān*, XVII, 72: وَمَنْ كَانَ فِيْ هٰذِهٖٓ اَعْمٰى فَهُوَ فِي الْاٰخِرَةِ اَعْمٰى -

[40] It is interesting to note Dārā Shikūh voicing the orthodox view against the *Mu'tazilites* and the *Shī'ites*. The school of the *Mu'tazilites*, which "created the speculative dogmatics in Islam," founded by Wāṣil ibn 'Aṭā and 'Amr ibn 'Ubaid gained ascendency in the 'Abbāsīd court at Baghdād, through the teachings of Bishr ibn al-Mu'tamir (d. 210 A. H.) and other theologians like Thumām ibn Ashras (d. 210 A. H.) and Ibn Abī Ḍu'ād (d. 240 A.H.). Their doctrines were in serious disagreement with those of the *Ahl al-Ḥadith*, who denounced them as heretical on the ground that their beliefs included the perverted notions of the *Manichaeism* and other non-Muslims. Briefly they held that the Qur'ān was created; rejected all eternal attributes of God, contending that "eternity is the proper or formal attribute of His essence; that God knows by His essence and not by His knowledge. With regard to the Unity of God, they went a step further, declaring that to affirm these attributes is the same thing as to make more eternals and that "the Unity of God is inconsistent with such an opinion." Wāṣil ibn 'Aṭā once remarked, "Whosoever asserted an eternal attribute, asserted that there were two Gods."

His refutation of the *Mu'tazila and Sh'ia* views.

The imperfect *Sunnī* doctors, who have disputed the meaning and wording of the tradition in which 'Ā'īsha Ṣiddīqa (the Prophet's wife) asked the Prophet: "Didst thou behold thy Lord?"[41] To which the Prophet replied: "It is Light that I am beholding."[42] They read it as: "It is Light, how can I behold it?"[43] But this cannot be an argument against the Vision of God,

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Absolute pre-destination was denied by them, on the ground, that no power ought to be ascribed to God concerning evil and that He was the cause of good only and not of evil. All comparisons, similitudes applied to God were wrong and that human eye is quite incapable of the Vision of God even in the Paradise.

Their generally adopted view in this connection is, that God is imperceptible by the senses though He is perceived by the heart (*Abu-'l-Hudhail*), He has a hidden *māhīya*, which will be perceived in the hereafter with the help of a sixth sense, which God would then create.......(Extract from my article: *Some Phases of Islamic Philosophical Thought*, III., *The Rise of the Orthodox Scholasticism*, p. 16. A Lecture delivered in the Department of Islamic Culture, Santiniketan.)

[41] ھل رائت ربک "Didst thou behold thy Lord?"

[42] نُورٌ اِنِّی اَرَاہُ "It is Light that I am beholding."

[43] نُورٌ اَنّٰی اَرَاہُ "It is Light, how can I behold it?"

Wrong view of the *Sunnī.*

for, if we put the former interpretation, it would refer to His perfect Vision in the veil of Light; and if we interpret it in the latter sense, it would refer to His Pure and Immaculate Self. So it is not a difference in the context but rather a manifestation of the miracle of our Prophet, who has explained two problems in one tradition. And the Holy verse: "(*Some*) *faces on that day shall be bright, Looking to their Lord,*"[44] is a clear argument in favour of the Vision of the God; while this verse: "*Vision comprehends Him not, and He comprehends all vision; and He is the knower of subtilities,, the Aware,*"[45] refers to His colourlessness and Absolute capacity, although He beholds all and possesses extreme elegance and colourlessness. And the word *huwa* (He), found in the above holy verse, refers to the invisibility of His Pure Self (*Dhāt-i-Baḥt*).

After establishing the certainty of the Vision of God, Dārā Shikūh proceeds to describe its various phases. The Vision of God is of five kinds: (1) In the dream with the eyes of heart;[46] (2) Beholding Him in the state of wakefulness with physical eyes; (3) Beholding Him in an intermediate state of sleep and wakefulness, which is a special unconsciousness of the Self; (4) Beholding Him in a state of special determination; and (5) Beholding the

Its five-fold Aspects.

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[44] Chap. LXXV, 22, 23: وُجُوهٌ يَوْمَئِذٍ نَاضِرَةٌ إِلَىٰ رَبِّهَا نَاظِرَةٌ

[45] Chap. VI, 104: لَا تُدْرِكُهُ الْأَبْصَارُ وَهُوَ يُدْرِكُ الْأَبْصَارَ وَهُوَ اللَّطِيفُ الْخَبِيرُ ـ

[46] *Majma'-ul-Baḥrain*, p. 98:

(۱) در خواب بچشم دل (۲) دیدن در بیداری بچشم سر (۳) در میان بیداری و خواب که آن بیخودی خاص است (۴) در یک تعین خاص (۵) دیدن یک ذات واحد است در کثرات تعینات عوالم ظاهر و باطن.

One Self in multitudinous determinations of the external and internal worlds. "In such a way beheld our Prophet," he concludes, "whose Self had disappeared from the midst and the beholder and the beheld had merged in one; and his sleep, wakefulness, unconsciousness of the Self looked as one, and his internal and external eyes had become one unified whole. Such is the state of perfect Vision of God (*Rūyat*), which is neither confined to this world nor to the hereafter, and is possible everywhere and at any period."[47]

On Contemplation.

Mushāhada or Contemplation means for a Ṣūfi, the spiritual Vision of God in public or private without asking how or in what manner. It is two-fold. One is the result of prefect faith and the other of rapturous love. In method the former is *istidlālī* or demonstrative and the latter *jadhbī* or ecstatic. Dārā Shikūh states: "The attachment for Beatitude and Perfection concerns itself not with gain or loss. The lovers think not in terms of how and why. They are lost in the light of manifestations and submerged in the ocean of Reality. They adore Him in *form* and *spirit* both inwardly and outwardly. The religion and nationality do not matter. The creed and dogma have no influence. They distinguish not existence from non-existence and entity from non-entity."[48]

Why Spirit comes into Matter?

In the opening lines of the *Risāla'i Ḥaq Numā'*, Dārā Shikūh discusses some of the heterodox Ṣūfi views. The first is the theory of the spirit transforming into matter. The spirit in its essence is Divine, as the seed in its essence is the tree. "Know, O friend," he writes, "that the reason, why the essence of man has entered this framework of body, is that the seed of perfection, which lies latent may become patent; that which is potentiality may reach the actuality and may return enriched with all experiences to its original source. So it is the duty of every individual human being to exert with all his might to save himself from eternal loss and free himself from duality to join himself with his source."[49]

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[47] *Ibid.* p. 98.

[48] *Ṭarīqat-ul-Ḥaqīqat*, p. 18.

At another place,[50] he has determined the soul as of two kinds: the common soul and the Soul of souls (*Abul Arwāḥ*). When the Pure Self (*Dhāt-i-Baḥt*) becomes determined and fettered, either in respect of purity or impurity, He is known as soul (*rūḥ*), in His elegent aspect and body (*jasad*) in His inelegant aspect. And the Self that was determined in the Eternity past, is known as the Supreme Soul (*Rūḥ-i-A'ẓam*) and is said to possess uniform identity with the Omniscient Being. The inter-relation between water and its waves is the same as that between body and soul. The combination of waves, in their complete aspect, may be likened to *Abul Arwāḥ*; while water only is just like the August Existence (*Ḥaḍrat-i-Wajūd*)

As a general rule, when the attractive power of the gross body, owing to its intimate connection with the soul, overpowers it, the latter becomes gross like the former. But if, on the other hand, the attractive power of the soul brings the gross body under its control, then the latter becomes subtle like the former. Accepting this phenomenon of the etherialisation of the physical body, Dārā Shikūh advances a pseudo-scientific theory for the explanation of the physical ascent of the Prophet, which is regarded as an article of faith among orthodox Muslims. He says that the Prophet had such a control

Etherialisation of the physical body.

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[49] *Risāla'i Ḥaq Numā'*, p. 1.

[50] *Majma'-ul-Baḥrain*, p. 44-45.

ever his body, that it became extremely rarified and refined, so much so that no fly ever sat upon it and that it did not cast any shadow upon the earth. "Since soul is subtler than air," he observes, "and nothing can obstruct its movement or veil its activity, where is the wonder that the famous journey to heaven made by the Prophet was in his physical body? and where is the wonder if Jesus still lives in heaven in a physical body? For verily our souls are bodies and our bodies are souls."[51] At another place he adds that the Prophet used to practice *āward-burd* or "controlling of breath," in the cave of Hira, and as a result of which "his body became subtler than air, more transparent than diamond. Where then is the impossibility that the Prophet in his rarified physical form ascended the seventh heaven?"[52]

Fanā and Baqā.

Fanā (annihilation), in Ṣūfic phraseology denotes the annihilation of Self or absorption in God, which state is free from self-consciousness. The complete negation of individual Self is always associated with *Baqā* (subsistence), which means the complete realisation of the Universal Self after the annihilation of human will before the Will of God. "Know that those who traverse the path of detachment (*tajrīd*) and separation (*tafrīd*), reach their destination by walking steadily on the path of righteousness. Those who have reached the goal, have always followed this path. Detachment consists in liberation from existence, and separation is a milestone in the way leading to non-existence. So long as individual Self is predominant, subsistence and annihilation would cling to you, but, when you have detached it from your existence, both would vanish. Then union and separation would become alike."[53]

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[51] *Risāla'i Ḥaq Numā'*, p. 10.

[52] *Ibid.*

[53] *Ṭarīqat-ul-Ḥaqīqat*, p. 25-26.

The Infinity of Cycles.

Giving the Indian conception, according to which the Divinity is not confined to these days and these nights only, "but when these nights will terminate, days will appear and when days will terminate nights will re-appear——this process continuing without end," he observes,[54] that whatever peculiarities of the manifestation and concealment of the Divinity have appeared in previous days and nights, will also re-appear, in exactly the same manner, in the following days and nights, as stated in this holy verse: *As we originated in the first creation, (so) we shall reproduce it*."[55] So, he continues, after the termination of this cycle, the world of Adam, the father of men, will re-appear in exactly the same manner; and so it will be endless. And, the verse of the Qur'ān: "*As he brought you forth in the beginning so shall you also return*," [56] is also an argument in proving this statement. "If, however, any one doubts and says that the finality of our Prophet, (may peace be on him!) is not proved by this exposition," he says, "I will tell him that next day also, our Prophet will reappear in an exactly similar manner, and on that day also, he will be called 'the Last of the Prophets.' The following Tradition, which is narrated in connection with the night of Ascent (*Mi'rāj*), is an argument to this effect. It is said that our Prophet, (may peace be on him!) saw a line of camels, proceeding in succession without any break, and on each of which two bags were laden, in each of which there was a world like that of ours, and in each such world there was a Muhammad like him. Our Prophet asked Gabriel, 'What is this?' Gabriel replied, 'O Prophet of God! since my creation, I have been witnessing this line of camels proceeding with bags, but, I am also unaware of their *real* significance.' This as I believe, is a reference to the Infinity of Cycles."

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[54] *Majma'-ul-Bahrain*, p. 75.

[55] Chapt. XXI, 104: كَمَا بَدَاْنَا اَوَّلَ خَلْقٍ نُّعِيْدُهٗ ۔

[56] Chapt. VII, 29: كَمَا بَدَاَكُمْ تَعُوْدُوْنَ ۔

The triune aspect of God is described at another place. The word Allāh means, "He is the Lord of three attributes viz., creation, preservation and destruction."

The Triune aspect of God.

The whole creation and every atom of matter has in it these three attributes, but no one knows the meaning and the mystery of this great name, except some of the great perfect teachers who are on the path of perfection. With regard to the method of recitation of the name of God, he observes that his spiritual guide Mīān Mīr used to say that the name of Allāh should be recited very slowly and mentally without the movement of tongue. By constant practice of this method, "one attains a stage in which his mind remains awake even in sleep, and the link of consciousness is not broken when the body goes to sleep."

It seems that Dārā Shikūh at an early age was very much fascinated by the ascetic practices of the Qādirī discipline and used to practice some of them as a method of "purifying and illuminating the rust settled on the mirror of the heart," as he terms it. For instance, *Ḥabs-i-dam*, or the regulation of breath, very much akin to the *prâṇayâm* of the Yoga system, was useful to him for "collecting the distracting senses by virtue of concentration of mind attained thereby."

Ḥabs-i-dam.

"This method of the regulation of breath which has been adopted by this faqīr (Dārā Shikūh)," he writes,[57] "is such without which success cannot be obtained. So every one should practice this method of control of breath. It is done in this way: 'Sitting in a retired spot, in the posture in which the holy Prophet used to sit, place the elbows of both hands on the two knees; and with the two thumb-fingers close the holes of the two ears, so that no air may pass out of them. With the two index-fingers shut the two eyes, in such a way that the upper eyelid may remain steadily fixed on the lower eyelid, but that the fingers should not press the eye-balls. Place the ring and small fingures on the upper and lower lips, so as to close the mouth. Place the two middle fingers on the two wings of the nose, the right middle finger on the right wing and the left middle finger on the left wing. Having assumed this posture, firmly close the right nostril with the right middle finger, so that air may not come through it. Now open the left nostril and breathe in slowly reciting *La ilāh*, and drawing the air upto the brain, bring it down to the heart. After this close firmly the left nostril also, with the left middle finger, and thus keep the air confined within the body. Then keep the breath confined so long it can be easily done and increase the period of restraining it slowly. After it throw the breath out by opening the right nostril by removing the middle finger from it. The breath should be thrown out slowly, reciting the words *īlla Allāh*. If the breath is expelled very quickly, it will be injurious to the lungs. Then he should repeat the same process, by drawing in the breath through the right nostril, and keeping it closed for some time, and expelling it through the left nostril and so on'."

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[57] *Risāla'i Ḥaq Numā'*, p. 13.

Āward-burd.

An addition to this process, which Dārā Ṣhikūh asserts, has come down to him from Ḥaḍrat G̲h̲aut̲h̲-ul-t̲h̲aqalain ('Abdul Qādir Jīlānī), who used to call it as *āward-burd*, was made by spiritual teacher Mīān Mīr. During the period, while the breath was kept within the lungs, namely, when the breath was drawn in, till its expulsion, the practitioner was told to repeat the words *La ilāh*, with the tongue of the cedar-heart,[58] so that during the period of retention of breath, mind should not remain vacant, for, the vacancy of mind opens the door to "dangers" or unwholesome thoughts and frightening visions. But when he becomes engaged in reciting *illa Allāh*, these 'dangers,' are removed and his mind is kept back from attending to any other object. This method of removing dangers, was named by Mīān Mīr as *zad-o-burd* (struck and carried), for, "anyone who has struck this noble name on the target of his heart, carried the ball of victory to its right goal."

Its Effects.

After describing the method of *Ḥabs-i-dam*,[59] he recounts its effects: "This noble practice of the retention of breath," he remarks, "has been practiced by me for some time and I have thereby felt a sensation of light-heartedness and a strange buoyancy of spirit and a great delight and a subtle illumination in the mind and in all my body. All the grossness of langour has often completely vanished and I have felt a great zest and an immeasurable ecstasy."

His reverence for the saints, whom he calls the "chosen souls," is manifest in all his writings. This we propose to deal fully in our notice of the *Safīnat-ul-Awliyā'*, but it would not be out of place to record a few of his impressions here. "This humble writer," he remarks,[60] "always cherished perfect reverence and obedience for this great body of saints. Day and night he had no other thought but to think of them and considered himself as one of the aspirants to reach them." He repeatedly asserts: "Know that next to the prophets of God are the great masters (saints) about whom there is the following verse in the holy Qur'ān: 'They are both lovers and beloveds of God.' Therefore loving them is loving God. To seek them is to seek Him, to unite with them is to unite with Him, and showing respect to them is showing respect to God. As 'Abdullāh Anṣāri remarked: 'O Lord, what a great status Thou hast given to Thy Friends, that he who searches them, finds Thee and so long as one sees Thee not, recognises them not.'"[61]

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[58] The cedar -heart (*dil-i-ṣanowbarī*) and two other centres of meditation viz., the spherical heart (*dil-i-muddawarī*) and the lily-heart (*dil-i-nīlofarī*) are described in detail at another place.

[59] A similar devotional exercise is compared to the *Ajapā* of the Indian origin in the *Majmaʿ-ul-Baḥrain* (p. 43). The *Ajapā*, he says, is the best of all exercises, and originates from every living being, both in sleep and wakefulness, without any will or control. The incoming and outgoing of the breath have been interpreted in two words, viz., Ū (He) and *man* (I), or *Ū-manam* (He is I). The Ṣūfis consider their occupation in these two words as *Hū Allāh; Hū* appearing while the breath comes in, and *Allāh* when it goes out.

Apostleship and Saintship.

Thereafter he emphasises the necessity of a spiritual guide. This practice of spiritual perceptership is very common both among Hindu and Muslim mystics. According to Dārā Shikūh it is necessary for every person that he should seek to attach himself to an "illumined soul," who possesses peculiar spiritual gifts and diligence in seeking God. Here he describes his own personal experiences, saying that his spiritual yearning after the Union was charged with a deep religious longing to find God and that after much "wanderings" he came under the influence of his spiritual guide Mullā Shāh.[62]

Apostleship and Saintship (*Nubuwwat-o-Wilāyat*) has been treated at full length at another place.[63] The former may be divided into three classes: *first*, those who might have beheld God either with the outer or inner eyes; *secondly*, those who might have heard the voice of

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[60] *Safīnat-ul-Awliyā'*, MS. *Op. cit.* fol. 3a.

[61] *Ibid.* fol. 5b.

[62] This is treated fully in my notice of the *Sakīnat-ul-Awliyā'*.

[63] *Majma'-ul-Baḥrain*, p. 99-101.

God, either sound only or sound composed of words; *thirdly*, those who might have seen the angels or heard their voice.

Apostleship and Saintship is of three kinds: **Pure** (*tanzīhī*) Apostleship, Resembling (*tashbīhī*) Apostleship and a combination of Pure and Resembling Apostleship (*Jāma‘ al-tanzīhiya wa’l tashbīhiya*).

The *first* is like the Apostleship of Noah, who beheld God in purity and invited people to join his fold, but except a few, they did not accept his faith, on account of his pure beholding (*tanzīh*), and as a result, were sunk in the ocean of destruction. Similarly the divines of our day, invite disciples to a pure beholding of God, but none of these disciples ever attain the stage of an *‘Ārif*, nor is he benefited by their discourses, and dying on the path of *Sulūk* and *Ṭarīqat*, he never reaches God.

The *second* is like the Apostleship of Moses, who saw God himself in the fire of the tree and heard words from the clouds. A large section of the followers of Moses, having become Anthropomorphists (began) worshipping the cow and committed sin. Now-a-days some of our followers (*muqallidīn*), whose only profession in life is blind following, having fallen aside purity, have been sunk in Anthropomorphism, and, as such, indulge in seeing handsome and attractive faces, pass their time in playing and indulgence. One should never follow such persons:

"Every sweet face that thou beholdest,
The sky will soon remove it from thine eyes:
Go, and give thy heart to one, who in the circle of existence
Hath remained always with thee and will so continue to be."[64]

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[64] *Ibid*:

هر صورتِ دلکش که ترا روی نمود　　خواهد فلک از چشم تواش زود ربوُد
رو دل بکسی ده که در اطوارِ وجود　　بوداست و ہمیشہ با تو خواهد بوُد

The *third*, a combination of Pure and Resembling Apostleship, is like that of our Prophet Muḥammad (May peace be on him and salutation!), who joined together the Absolute (*muṭlaq*) and the Determined (*muqayyad*), the colourless and the coloured, the near and the distant. There is a reference to this very dignity in the holy verse: "Nothing is like a likeness of Him; and He is the Hearing, the Seeing."[65] The former i.e. "Nothing is a likeness of Him" refers to his purity (*tanzīh*) and the latter *i.e.*, "He is the Hearing, the Seeing," is one to that of Resembling (*tas͟hbīh*). This is the highest and the loftiest stage of Universality and perfection, which was reserved for our Lord, Muḥammad (peace be on him!). So, our Prophet has encircled the whole world, from the remotest corner of the east to the farthest end of the west. Now pure Apostleship is void of Resembling Apostleship, but the "Uniting" (*Jāmī*') Apostleship combines both the *tas͟hbīhī* and the *tanzīhī* Apostleships, as contained in the holy verse: "He is the First and the Last and the Ascendant (over all) the Knower of hidden things."

Similarly, Saintship is limited to the perfect ones[65a] of the sect in whose praise, God, the most High has said: "You are the best of the nations raised up for (the benefit) of men," namely, they are the best of His followers who combine *tanzīh* and *tas͟hbīh*.

Dārā S͟hikūh lays stress on the value of man's spiritual attainments and says that his goal is to achieve Divine communion, which is not mainly dependent upon human efforts, but also upon the grace of God.[66]

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[65] *Qur'ān*; Chapt. XLII, 11.

[65a] A general classification of the saints, which is of great interest, is given at an other place (*Vide*. Chapt. II).

[66] *Risāla'i Ḥaq Numā'*, p. 2.

Methods of Divine Communion.

There are two paths that lead a man to the Lord. First, the path of Grace (*Ṭarīq-i-Faḍl*) and second, the path of Exertion (*Ṭarīq-i-Mujāhadat*). The former can be achieved through the help of a perfect divine. "It is the Grace, when the Lord takes the seeker to a perfect divine," he observes, "who by his magic touch of spiritual attainments, rouses him from the sleep of worldliness and indifference and without any effort, pain, austerity and penance, makes him visualise the Eternal Beloved and thus liberates him from the bonds of egoism and directs him to the stages, which the eyes have not seen and the ears have not heard." The second path is that of Exertion and Austerity. It is in this wise. Suppose a man hears from some one that such and such a person has reached God; or he reads in some book that some have known God rightly, as He ought to be known. This excites his desire to reach the same "state", which others have reached before him. When this idea takes a strong hold on his mind, "he begins to seek and search, goes far and near, works and toils, resorts to austerity, penance and exertion till the grace of God descends upon him and thus all his labours are crowned with success and he gets the Vision Divine."

Physical austerities unnecessary.

But personally he does not believe in the necessity of "self-torture" and remarks that the essence of All Good cannot be best realised in the extreme forms of self-mortifications and physical austerities. Hence he says that the fasts and vigils are no good weapons. "My path is of Grace," he observes, " and not of Exertion, and I am attracted to God naturally without the performance of physical austerties." In support of this assertion, he ignores the earlier stages of hard discipline and physical renunciation: "God is not the tormentor but the comforter of his creatures. He has brought thee through this path, in order to welcome thee as a *guest* and not to punish thee as a *criminal.*''[67]

Similarly, he says, that it is possible for a man engaged in outward worldly persuits to follow the path. ''One can be in solitude in the midst of crowd and can be in retirement in the very midst of bustle and worldly noise.'' The use of a patched cloak (*k̲h̲irqa*) for a Ṣūfī novice is considered essential by the men of path, but he says that it is useless to assume the form of a *faqīr*, without, however, the acquisitions of a true *faqīr*. He writes: ''Worldiness is non-remembering of God. It does not consist either in dress or money or having wife and children.''[68]

Nūr and *Nūr-i-D̲h̲āt.*

A very fine exposition of *Nūr* or Light is given at another place.[69] *Nūr* is three-fold; if it is manifested with the attribute of *Jalāl* or Majesty, it is either sun-coloured, ruby-coloured or fire-coloured; and if it is manifested with the attribute of *Jamāl* or Beauty, it is either moon-coloured, pearl-coloured or water-coloured; and lastly comes the Light of the Essence (*Nūr-i-D̲h̲āt*) which is devoid of all such attributes and is not manifested to any one, except the holy men in whose favour God has declared: ''*Allāh guides to His Light, whom He pleases.*''[70] This is the Light, which appears when a man either in sleep or with eyes closed, neither beholds anything with his eyes nor hears with his ears nor speaks with his tongue nor smells with his nose nor feels with his sense of touch, and, as a matter of fact, performs all these functions in sleep with only one faculty and does not require the aid of either the limbs, the external faculties or the light of a lamp; and the senses of sight, hearing, taste, smell and touch become merged in one. Such is the Light of Essence, or in other words, the Light of God.

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[67] *Ibid.*

[68] *Safīnat-ul-Awliyā'*, fol. 7a.

[69] *Majmaʻ-ul-Baḥrain*, p. 93.

[70] *Qur'ān*: Chapt. XXIV, 35.

Exhorting further, he remarks: "O my friend! reflect on what I have said, as it is a matter of discernment and meditation. And the Prophet of God, may His blessings and peace be on him! has said in the praise of this reflection that "A moment's engagement in meditation is better than the devotion of a whole year," and, now the Light discernible from the holy verse: "Allāh is the Light of the heavens and earths," is always effulgent by itself, whether appearing in this world or not.

Accordingly, he adds, the Ṣūfis have explained *Nūr* (Light) by the word *Munawwar* (Illumined). The holy verse on this point is as follows: "*Allah is the Light of heavens and earths; a likeness of His Light is as a niche in which is a lamp, the lamp is in the glass, the glass is as it were a brightly shining star, lit from a blessed olive tree, neither eastern nor western, but the oil whereof almost gives light though fire touches it not——light upon light——Allāh guides to His Light whom He pleases.*"[71]

Explaining this verse, he observes, "What this *faqīr* (Dārā Shikūh) has understood is that "niche" (*mishkāt*) applies to the world of bodily existence, the " lamp " (*miṣbāḥ*) to the Light of Essence and "glass" (*shīsha*) to the human soul which is like a shining star and that, on account of this lamp, the glass also appears like a lamp. And: "That lamp is lit," applies to the Light of Essence;

An Explanation of the Verse.

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[71] *Qur'ān*, Chapt. XXIV,35:

اَللّٰهُ نُوْرُ السَّمٰوٰتِ وَالْاَرْضِ مَثَلُ نُوْرِهٖ كَمِشْكٰوةٍ فِيْهَا مِصْبَاحٌ اَلْمِصْبَاحُ فِىْ زُجَاجَةٍ اَلزُّجَاجَةُ
كَاَنَّهَا كَوْكَبٌ دُرِّيٌّ يُّوْقَدُ مِنْ شَجَرَةٍ مُّبٰرَكَةٍ زَيْتُوْنَةٍ لَّا شَرْقِيَّةٍ وَّلَا غَرْبِيَّةٍ يَّكَادُ زَيْتُهَا يُضِيْٓءُ
وَلَوْ لَمْ تَمْسَسْهُ نَارٌ نُوْرٌ عَلٰى نُوْرٍ يَهْدِى اللّٰهُ لِنُوْرِهٖ مَنْ يَّشَآءُ۔

while the "Sacred tree" refers to the Self of the Truth, Holy and Exalted is He, who is free from the limitations of the East and the West. By "olive-oil" (*zait*) is meant the Great Soul (*Rūḥ-i-A'ẓam*) which is neither of eternity past nor of eternity to come, in that the *zait* is luminous and resplendent by itself, for the reason that it possesses great elegance and purity and does not require to be lighted."

Consequently, he adds, Abū Bakr Wāsṭī, in defining soul says that the 'glass' of soul is so luminous that it need not be touched with the fire of human world (*nār-i-Nāsūt*) and it is imminent that, on account of its inherent potency, it may be illumined automatically. This light of *zait* is "light upon light" (*nūr-un-'alā nūr*), which signifies that on account of its extreme purity and brightness, it is light full of light; and no one can behold Him with this light, unless He guides him with the Light of His Unity. So the main purport of the combination of all these verses, is that God is manifest with the Light of His Essence in elegant and refulgent curtains and there is no veil or darkness concealing Him

We have already referred to his reverence for the saints of all orders. In his biographical works numerous miracles of the saints are recorded. For full details of these miracles, the reader is referred to the pages of his three works already alluded to. We have enumerated about twenty-five miracles of Mīan Mīr and Mullā S̱ẖāh in the notice on their lives.[72] This clearly throws light on the superstitious reverence of the prince and his implicit faith in their miracles. We have given many illustrations, in this respect, at another place, but would record here, a typically interesting anecdote mentioned by the court-historian 'Abdul Ḥamīd in the

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[72] See my notice of *Safīnat-ul-Awliyā'* and *Sakīnat-ul-Awliyā'* and also other works, (Chapters II-III).

Superstitions and Dreams.

Pādshāhnāma. "On one occasion," he writes,[73] "when singers and jugglers were entertaining the royal assemblies, Shaikh Naẓīr, who had been invited to court on account of his fame in working miracles, suddenly fell into ecstasy and called for a glass full of water. The Shaikh drank a little and passed the glass to others. Every one who tasted of it declared that it was pure honey. Prince Dārā Shikūh and Qāḍi Muḥammad Islām submitted to His Majesty that in Agra, the Shaikh had in their presence once transformed a water-jug, and on another occasion, a handkerchief into a pigeon. Further, they added, that the Shaikh had once put into their hands a blade of grass, which came out in the shape of a worm.........."

His belief in superstitions and miracles was so implicit that he carried from Lahore, while on his way to Qandhār, a number of pious *ulamas* and Hindu magicians as a supplement to his war like equipments. A Hindu *sannayāsī* was employed by the prince to work a miracle in the expedition; and a *Hājī*, a master of forty *genii*, who claimed to be a great magician and hypnotist, was entrusted to secure the reduction of Qandhār by prayers and magic.[74]

Another aspect of his superstitious nature is to be noted in his dreams. Dārā Shīkūh believed in, what he himself calls, "the somewhat mysterious significance of dreams." About a dozen of his dreams are to be found in his works. His interpretation of some of them is quite interesting to know. From two of his dreams he derived inspiration and received "Divine injunction" to compile two of his most important works. Divine inspiration prompted him to write the *Risāla'i Ḥaq Numā'*. One of his dreams which we would like to record, is very interesting. Herein he describes the circumstances which led to the translation of the *Yoga Vasiṣ́ṭa* into Persian. In the preface to the Persian translation of the above work, the writer says that he received the following order from Dārā Shikūh:[75] "Since the translations of this sacred book which are extant, have not proved of much use to the seekers of the Truth, it is my desire that its retranslation should be undertaken in conference with learned men of all sects who are conversant with the text. My chief reason for this noble command is that although, I had profited by perusing a translation of it ascribed to Shaikh Ṣūfi, yet once two saintly persons appeared in my dreams: one of whom was tall, whose hair was grey, the other short and without any hair. The former was Vasiṣ́ṭa and the latter Ram Chandra and as I had read the translation already alluded to, I was naturally attracted towards them and paid my respects. Vasiṣ́ṭa was very kind to me and patted me on the back and addressing Ram Chandra told him that I was brother to him, because both he and I were seekers of the Truth. He asked Ram Chandra to embrace me, which he did in the exuberance of love. Thereupon Vasiṣ́ṭa gave some sweets to Ram Chandra which I took and ate. After this a desire to cause a retranslation of the book was intensified in me."

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[73] *Vide.* Bib. Ind., Vol. I. p. 337.

[74] These anecdotes are given in the *Laṭṭā'if-ul-Akhbār*, an anonymous account of the third siege of Qandhār. It is a diary of events from the beginning to the end of the seige. It contains besides military details many camp gossips. See also Rieu's notice on Tārīkh-i-Qandhār (*Cat.*, I. p. 265.) and also Qanungo's *Dārā Shikūh*, Vol. I.

There is another interesting dream mentioned in the *Safīnat-ul-Awliyā'* which gives a graphic description of his meeting with the four Imams.[76]

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[75] MS. of the *Yoga Vasiṣ́ṭa*, (Punjab Public Library), fol. 4a,b.

[76] Ms. (*Op. cit.*), fol. 11b. (See Chapt. II).

CHAPTER II

THE SAFINAT-UL-AWLIYĀ'

"...... next to the prophets, there are no other persons than the saints nearer in the presence of God......"

—DĀRĀ SHIKUH

"The communion with God is dependent upon the saints. He who has not found the Path, has not found God; he who has found the guide, has found the Path which leads to Him."

—DĀRĀ SHIKUH

The mystic interpretation of the religious life in Ṣūfism is chiefly expounded by its monastic orders and saints. These religious orders, an integral part of Islamic mysticism, so multiplied in Arabia, Turkey, Persia, India and other parts of the world where Islam had established its footing, that even after excluding an enormous number of heretic sects, their number exceeds seventy-two. But the chief Ṣūfi exponents of Islamic mysticism are divided into twelve prominent sects.[1] Every one of these had an excellent system and doctrine as regards both purgation (*mujāhadat*) and contemplation (*mushāhadat*). Although they differ in devotional practices and ascetic disciplines, they agree in the fundamentals and derivatives of the religion of Unification.[2]

The Ṣūfi Orders.

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[1] Von Hammer in reference to the *ṭarīqs* or Ṣūfi orders says that the following existed before the foundation of the Ottoman Empire:—

(1) Uwaisī, (2) Ilwānī, (3) Adhamī, (4) Busṭāmī, (5) Saqaṭī, (6) Qādirī, (7) Rifa'ī, (8) Suhrawardī, (9) Kubrawī, (10) Shāzilī, (11) Maulvī and (12) Badāwī.

[2] Al-Hujwīrī's *Kashf-ul-Maḥjūb*, Gibb Memorial Edition, p. 210.

Surcharged with a deep sense of pantheistic thought and combined with devotional forms of asceticism, these religious orders of the saints have greatly influenced the mystic thought of the people. Ṣūfism has done much to develop a distinctive philosophy of life in the mind, while the manifold monastic orders have carried that philosophic conception to the people and have applied it to their every day life. Although they embody the principle and foundation of mysticism, their distinctive feature is that the knowledge of Divinity rests on saintship. This principle is affirmed by all, though the method of expression in the case of every individual order is different.

Their Influence on Indian mind.

In India some of these Ṣūfi orders came closely in the wake of Islam and brought with them a new mystic idealism. They came mostly from Persia and Turkey and stirred the minds of the people with devotion, fervour and spiritual influence. Working in a liberal spirit of co-operation with the Indian religious thought, they started a kind of peaceful penetration into the Indian mind. Where the religious zeal of the bigoted Muslim conquerors had failed and created a chaos in the social order and the religious organisations of non-Muslims, these savants of Ṣūfism accomplished the task. Their mystic touch, enlightened piety and liberal outlook worked like a soothing balm on their wounded religious susceptibilities. They won the favour of Hindu and Muslim multitudes and some of them attracted the attention of ruling Muslim monarchs and exerted powerful influence not only on their minds but also on the affairs of the state. The chief Ṣūfi order, which had a very strong hold on the minds of Muslim emperors, was the C͟his͟htī sect, founded by K͟hwāja 'Abdul Aḥmad C͟his͟htī (d. 966 A.D.) and introduced into India by K͟hwāja Mū'īn-ud-Dīn C͟his͟htī (d. 1236 A.D.), who was very much favoured by S͟hahāb-ud-Dīn G͟haurī. His tomb at Ajmer is a centre of attraction for both Hindus and Muslims. Akbar's devotion and veneration for the Chishtī order can be gleaned through the pages of Ā'īn-i-Akbari[3]. The most prominent and revered saints of this order were Niẓām-ud-Dīn Awliyā' (d. 1325) better known by the title of Sultan of the Saints and Shaikh Salīm Chishtī, who exerted a potent influence on the lives of Mughal emperors and the Hindu nobles of their court. The Emperor Jahāngīr was born in the latter's house and the saint himself lies buried in an exquisitely beautiful tomb at Fateḥpur Sīkrī near Āgra.

Dārā Shikūh's main interest in mysticism led him to believe that the spiritual instincts of man need spiritual leadership for guidance, provided by the religious orders. Ṣūfism to him was a natural revolt of human mind against the cold formalism of ritualistic religion. To acquire its underlying philosophy and theology in its true perspective, the neophyte must select the right path. This could be achieved by taking the lead given by one of those Ṣūfi sects which have a close and fundamental affinity to the warm and mystical yearning after Truth and Union as embodied in its teachings. The first phase of the spiritual life of Dārā Shikūh began with his formal initiation into the Qādirī order, which took place in the year 1049 A.H. He had inherited a long-standing adherence towards the Chishtī order and Khwāja Mu'in-ud-Dīn Chishtī, the patron-saint of the house of Akbar, but was soon won over by one of the foremost disciples of the Qādirī order, the renowned Ṣūfi Miāṇ Mīr.

Dārā Shikūh enters *Qādirī* fold.

The Qādirī order, an ascetic sect of the Ṣūfis, entered into the religious life of Islam in about 1166 A.D., but it did not make its way into Indian soil until three

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[3] *Vide.* Blochmann Vol. II or translated by Jarrett III, p. 357; also Khāfī Khān's *Muntakhab al-Lubāb* Vol. II, p. 604.

The Qādirī sect and its Founder.

hundred years later. Instituted by S͟haikh ʻAbdul Qādir al-Jīlānī,[4] commonly known as the Pīr Dastgīr, is one of the most popular religious orders among the *sunnī* Mussalmans of Asia. He was born at Gīlān on the 1st of Ramaḍān in the year 470 A.H., and at the age of eighteen he came to Baghdād and studied Islamic theology, law and *fuqa* and thereafter became a teacher of a school of the *Ḥanbalite* law and a *ribāt*. He practised the *Ḥanbalite* law as is evident from his sermons collected in the *al-Fatḥ al-Rabbānī*; but though the founder was the follower of Aḥmad Ḥanbal, the membership to his community is by no means confined to that school and the order is theoretically both tolerent and charitable.[5]

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[4] Dārā S͟hikūh has treated fully his life in the *Safīnat-ul-Awliyā'* : G͟hauth-alt͟haqlain or G͟hauthal-aʻzam S͟hāh Muḥyī-ud-Dīn Sayyid ʻAbdul Qādir al-jilī al-Ḥasanī al-Husainī, the real founder of the Qādirī order, and the son of Abū Ṣāliḥ Musā Jangīdūst bin ʻAli Abdullāh bin Yahyā (al) Zāhid bin Muḥammad bin Dā'ūd bin Mūsā-al-jūn bin ʻAbdullāh Maḥd bin Ḥasan Mut͟hannā bin Imām Ḥasan bin ʻAli Murtaḍa who consequently traced his geneology back to ʻAbdullāh Maḥd, whose father Ḥasan was the son of ʻAli's son Ḥasan, and whose mother Fātimāh was the daughter of ʻAli's son Ḥusain, (fol. 35a); born in Jīl (i.e. Jilān or Gīlān, but according to others, a village distant one day's journey from Bag͟hdād) on the 1st of Ramaḍān A.H. 470 (according to others 471), went 18 yrs. old, in A.H. 488 to Bag͟hdād to apply himself to the study of Qur'ān, the Traditions and other sciences, (fol. 37b.); entered upon teaching and preaching A.H. 521 A.H.; died the 8th or 9th (a/c to others 11th, 13th or 17th) of Rabīʻ-ul-Āk͟har, A. H. 561, 90 or 89 years 7 months and 9 days old (fol. 46b); in India the anniversary of his death (ʻUrs) is celebrated by some on the 11th and in Bag͟hdād on the 17th, but Dārā S͟hikūh celebrated it on the 9th as the most correct date; numerous miracles are recorded (fol. 33b onwards); among his numerous works two mentioned: *Ghaniyāt-aṭālbīn*, a collection of sermons and *Futūḥ-alg͟haib*. Concluding, the following observation is made:

در دل شبی که این کمترین مریدان شروع در نوشتن ذکر حضرت غوث اعظم نموده، در واقعه خود را در بغداد یافت
و در گنبد مبارک آنحضرت و بطواف حضرت امام موسیٰ کاظم و حضرت غوث اعظم رضی الله تعالیٰ عنهما مشغول و از سعادتمندی خود
باین شرفِ عظمیٰ مشرف گشت و بیقین این فقیر شد که تحریر این کتاب مقبول گشت، الحمد الله علی ذلک

[5] *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, No. 27, p. 609.

Qādirism seems from an early period to have been developed on different lines according as its founder was regarded as the initiator of a system involving rites and practices or as a worker of miracles. In the latter direction, says D. S. Margoliouth,[6] it meant the deification of 'Abdul Qādir, the extremists holding that he was the Lord of Creation after God, absolutely, whereas the most moderates suppose that he was so only in his life.

Character of *Qādirī* Mysticism.

The system of devotional mysticism, as formulated by 'Abdul Qādir and practiced by the Qādirites, though inconsistent with Islamic orthodoxy, is in fact the application of Ṣūfism to an orderly graded asceticism and its "materialization under the form of a cult of hidden subterranean powers."[7] It differs from other important religious orders mainly in ritual because of the evolution of its highly superstitious character, not only connected with its origin but also to some of its later developments. It also lacks the homogeneity of rituals and practices, which mark the Chishtī, the Suharwardī or the Naqshbandī orders.

The advent of the Qādirī order into India.

The Qādirī order found its way into India in 1482 A.D., when Shaikh Bandgī Muḥammad Ghauth, a renowned descendant of 'Abdul Qādir came to India and settled at Uch in Bahāwalpur State. Muḥammad Ghauth died in 1517 A.D., but his ardent followers carried the inspiring message all over India. This sect became very popular in northern India, Punjab and Kashmir, where it found two of its most revered saintly followers—Mīāṇ Mīr and Mullā Shāh Badakhshānī, who made it one of the most highly organised Ṣūfi sects in India. Mīāṇ Mīr settled at Lahore and it was here that Dārā Shikūh made his acquaintance with him. In the *Safīnat-ul-Awliyā'*, Dārā S͟hikūh records his first meeting with the saint, wherein he says that at the age of twenty-one, owing to a prolonged illness, his father S͟hāh Jahān took him to the saint, who, by the magic touch of supernatural powers, cured him completely in a week's time. Although glimpses of the close relation which existed between him and the saint can be found in this work, but he has treated the life, miracles and teachings of the saint in his second work the *Sakīnat-ul-Awliyā'*.[8]

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[6] *Ibid.*

[7] *Ibid.* p. 610.

The *Safīnat-ul-Awliyā'*.

The first category of his works, consisting of three mystic biographies, besides contemporary official records and semi-historical works, provide for us the most authentic and valuable data for the study of his relations with the living saints and his veneration for the different orders of the saints. The *Safīnat-ul-Awliyā'*, a biography of the saints and famous Ṣūfis, dealing with their lives and teachings, from the advent of Islam till the author's own time, was completed, as he himself says, "in my 25th year, on Ramaḍān 27, 1049 A.H." (Jan. 21, 1640 A.D.). It is divided into various sections, headed by an illuminating preface.

In the preface Dārā S͟hikūh gives an account of his reverence for the order of the saints and the circumstances which led him to the compilation of the work. He observes that he had cherished love and reverence for the sacred "hierarchy of the saints," and had a firm belief in the extraordinary powers they possessed and that he was one of the aspirants to reach their secluded circles. For this reason, he thought of compiling a work on their lives and teachings, because, "if one cannot have the privilege and good fortune of their personal contact, he can at least take ecstatic pleasure by the knowledge of their good qualities."[9]

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[8] See Chap. III.

The necessity of a spiritual master (*pīr*) to guide along the path is next emphasised. The great body of the saints, "by whose efforts and blessing the world is permanently fixed," are the torch-bearers of Divine knowledge, and in fact, "God never leaves His people without saints to guide them." So he observes:[10]

The importance of spiritual guide.

"Therefore, next to the prophets, there are no other persons than the saints nearer in the presence of God, the Almighty. No one is more compassionate and magnanimous, erudite and practical, humble and polite, heroic and charitable than the members of this hierarchy of the saints." At another place he appeals to our intellect rather than to our mind. He lays stress on the importance of the perfect guide (*pīr-i-kāmil*): "Whereas God has endowed man with the precious gift of reason and discrimination, He has created this universe to serve him; for, he who seeks does ever find. He must go to a master in order to free himself from the pangs of separation and the worry of failure and loss. The communion with God is dependent upon the saints. He who has not found the path, has not found God; he who has found the guide, has found the path which leads to Him."[11]

In dealing with the saints of different religious sects, Dārā Shikūh classifies them according to the spiritual or miraculous powers they wielded individually, which shows their lack of homogeneity as a whole and a very loose connection between the local communities and their central institutions in Persia, Turkey or elsewhere. According

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[9] *Safīnat-ul-Awliyā'*, (op. cit.) Introduction.

[10] *Ibid.*

[11] *Risālā'i Ḥaq Numā'* p. 2.

His classification of the saints in the preface.

to his observations,[12] the "sacred hierarcy" functions in different ways and its individual member has a separate path of his own. Some are hidden, while others are manifest; some perform miracles under the command of God, but the performance of wonders is not their real object, while those who keep their existence concealed, sedulously try to conceal their supernatural powers. Some of the saints are commanded by God to work only under the direct inspiration of the Lord. They do not do any thing, they do not speak until He makes them speak, they do not eat until they are ordered to eat, they do not put on clothes until clothes are put upon them. There are others who follow the path of absolute renunciation and isolation and so long as they work in this way, their mind is free from worry and anxiety. Another class is engaged in worldly pursuits and the path which they follow is that of "to be in solitude in the midst of crowd, to be in retirement in the very midst of bustle and worldly noise." They act in accordance with the following verse of the Book: "They are people who are not prevented by trade or transaction from devotion and prayer to God." [13]

There is another class of saints who hang around the people of evil repute, their object in doing so is that men may not find them out. But they do not act in any such way as might be against the law laid down in the holy Scriptures. As a matter of fact, this group of saints, who are apparently hetrodox and their method appear against the law, do not commit any breach of law. Therefore no one should criticise the acts of this class of saints, for, none knows the inner significance of their acts. All these classes of saints are engaged in their own particular work; therefore it is not advisible to look with contempt on any one, for, it is said: “My friends are hidden; people do not recognise them but through My Grace.” The friends of God walk on the earth in guise and are concealed from the sight of the stranger, and so long as one has not insight and truthfulness of intellect, one should not criticise any one, because such criticism is in reality doing injustice to one’s own self. One should not serve these persons with the object of testing them, or questioning them, or asking them to show phenomena, but one should approach them with faith and purity of heart.[14]

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[12] *Safīnat-ul-Awliyā'*, (op. cit.), Introduction.

[13] *Ibīd.*

Another gradation of the saints.

From the books of the ancient sages, he observes, we learn with certainity that there are forty-thousand friends of God who get the name *Makhtum*. But they do not know each other, nor are they conscious of their own status. There are one hundred and thirty persons who are the wardens of the court of God and who are called *Akhbār*. Higher than these are two groups of forty persons each called *Raḥyūn* and *Abdāl* respectively. Higher than these are the seven called *Abrār*. Higher than these are the four called *Auatād*. Higher than these are the three called *Nuqaba*. Higher than these are the two called *Imāms*. These *Imāms* stand on the right and left of the *Qutub*, who is the head of this hierarchy. This head is also called *Ghauth*. All these know each other and are interdependent. There is another class of saints called *Mufrid* or the solitaries, who are not dependent upon any body and who do not belong to any group or hierarchy. They wander about in their solitary grandeur like comets. Their number has not been counted and their status is midway between the prophets and saints.

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[14] *Ibid.*

SOME APHORISMS CITED

Some very apt sayings of saints are given in support of his views. A few need mention:—

Shaikh 'Abdul Qādir: "The members of this group are kings of this world as well as of the world hereafter."

Shaikh Abū 'Abdullāh Maghribī: "The saints are the trustees of God for all humanity. On account of their blessings, dire calamities are warded off from mankind."

Shaikh Dhulnūn Miṣrī: "When Lord turns away His face from any one, he begins to criticise, abuse and deny the friends of God."

Manṣūr-al-Ḥallāj: "He who believes in the sayings of the friends of God and has a love for these sayings, I bow to him."

Ibrahīm Qaṣṣār: "Two things can guard thee from the snares of the world, *viz.*, the company of the saints and disinterested service of the friends of God."

Apart from this general classification of the lives of the saints noticed in the *Safīnat-ul-Awliyā'*, they are divided into eight sections in a strict chronological order. Briefly but in a lucid manner, the lives of four hundred and eleven saints are recorded in a comparatively short compass of two hundred and twenty-five pages. A list of important biographics in each section, which are particularly valuable for a comparative strictness in chronological order, with dates and the number of the folios in which they occur in that unique MS. (an autograph of Dārā Shikūh) of the *Safīnat-ul-Awliyā'* transcribed 27th of Ramaḍān, A.H. 1049, which the owner Dewān Bahādur Rājā Narindra Nāth lent to our Department of Islamic Studies, Santiniketan, for my use, for more than six months, is given below :—

Important Persons noticed in the *Safīnat-ul-Awliyā'*.

SECTION I. (I-26). *Muḥammad, the first four Caliphs, the twelve Imāms, some Aṣḥāb and Tabi'īn and the four great legal authorities.*

(1). The Prophet Muḥammad, d. the 12th of Rabī' I, A. H. 11, (*fol.* 5*b*).

(2). The first Caliph Abū Bakr Ṣiddīq, d. 22nd or according to others 23rd of Jumādā II, A. H. 13, age 63 or 65 years. (*fol.* 9*b*).

(3). The second Caliph 'Umar Fārūq ibn al-K͟haṭṭāb, d. 28th of D͟hū-alḥijja, A. H. 23, age 54, 55 or 58 years. (*fol.* 9*b*).

(4). The third Caliph 'Ut͟hmān ibn 'Affān D͟hū-alnūrain, d. 13th or 18th D͟hū-alḥijja, A. H. 35; age 88-90 according to various authorities. (*fol.* 10*a*).

(5). The fourth Caliph and first Imām 'Ali Murtaḍa Asad Allāh ibn Abī Ṭālib, d. 21st or 23rd Ramaḍān, A. H. 40; age 63-65 years (*fol.* 10*b*).

(6). The second Imām Ḥasan ibn 'Ali ibn Abī Ṭālib b. 3rd of Ṣafar, A. H. 3; d. 11th of Rabī' I, A. H. 50; age 43 years. (*fol.* 11*a*).

(7). The third Imām Ḥusain ibn 'Ali ibn Abī Ṭālib, b. Madīna 4th of Sha'bān, A. H. 4; killed at Karbala on 10th of Muḥarram; age 57 years 5 months. (*fol.* 12*a*).

(8). The fourth Imām 'Ali ibn Ḥusain ibn 'Ali al-Murtaḍa, b. Madīna A. H. 33, 36 or 38; d. 18th of Muḥarram, A. H. 94 or 95; age 56, 61 or 62 years. His mother was the daughter of the last Persian king Yazdajird III. (*fol.* 13*a*).

(9). The fifth Imām Muḥammad ibn 'Ali ibn Ḥusain; b. 3rd of Ṣafar, A. H. 57; d. A. H. 114, age 57 years. (*fol.* 13*b*).

(10). The sixth Imām Ja'far ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Ali ibn Ḥusain, b. 17th of Rabī' I, A. H. 80; d. 15th of Rajab, A. H. 148, age 68 years. (*fol.* 14*b*).

(11). The seventh Imām 'Ali ibn Mūsa Kāẓim ibn Ja'far; al-Ṣādiq; b. 7th of Ṣafar, A. H. 128; d. middle of Rajab A. H. 183, age 55 years. (*fol.* 15*a*).

(12). The eighth Imām 'Ali ibn Mūsa Kāẓim ibn Ja'far; d. 29th of Ramaḍān, A. H. 208, age 49-50 years. (*fol.* 15*b*).

(13). The ninth Imām Muḥammad ibn ‘Ali ibn Mūsa ibn Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq; b. 10th of Rajab A. H. 195; d. 6th of Dhū-alḥijja A. H. 220, age 25 years. (*fol.* 16*a*).

(14). The tenth Imām ‘Ali ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Ali ibn Mūsa bin Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq; b. A. H. 214; d. 13th of Jumāda II, A. H. 254, age 40 years. (*fol.* 17*b*).

(15). The eleventh Imām Ḥasan ibn ‘Ali ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Ali Raḍa; d. A. H. 260, age 29 years. (*fol.* 19*ab*).

(16). The twelfth Imām Muḥammad Mahdi ibn Ḥasan ibn ‘Ali ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Ali Raḍa; b. 23rd of Ramaḍān A. H. 258; d. A. H. 265 or 266 (*fol.* 19*b*).

(17-26). Salmān al-Fārsi (d. A. H. 33), Uwais Qarnī (d. A. H. 22), Ḥasan Baṣrī (d. A. H. 110), Qāsim ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr al-Ṣiddīq (one of the seven theologians of Madīna, d. between 102-112 A. H.), Imām-i-‘Aẓam Abū Ḥanīfa (b. A.H. 80, d. A. H. 150.), Mālik ibn Anas ibn Mālik (the second great legal Imām, b. A. H. 95, d. A. H. 179), Muḥammad ibn Idrīs Shāfi‘i (the third great legal Imām, b. A. H. 150, d. A. H. 204), Aḥmad Ḥanbal (the fourth great legal Imām, b. A. H. 164, d. A. H. 241), Imām Abū Yūsif (d. A. H. 182), and Imām Muḥammad Shaibānī (d. A. H. 189). (*fol.* 20*a*-24*b*).

SECTION II. (*Fol.* 25*a*-67*b*). *Saints of the Qādirī order, called Junaidī before the time of Shaikh ‘Abdul Qādir Jīlānī.*

(27-65). The important saints included in this section are: Ma‘rūf Karkhī (d. A. H. 200), Junaid Baghdādī (d. Rajab 27, A. H. 297), Abū Bakr Shiblī (d. 27, Dhū-alḥijja, A. H. 334), ‘Abdul Qādir Jīlānī (d. 8th of 9th Rabī‘ II, A. H. 561) and his ten sons; Abū Madin Maghribī (d. A. H. 590); Ibn al-‘Arabī (d. A. H. 590), Imām Yāfi‘ī (d. 21st of Jumāda II, A. H. 768), ‘Abdul Qādir II (a descendent of the founder in the eighth generation, d. A. H. 940) and Mīāṇ Mīr (Dārā Shikūh's own pīr, d. 7th of Rabī‘ I, A. H. 1045).

SECTION III. (*Fol.* 67-80*b*). *Saints of the Naqshbandī order, styled as*: سلسلهٔ شریفه خواجه ئی بزرگوار

(66-94). Beginning with Shaikh Abū Yazīd Bisṭāmī, the founder of the *Ṭaifūrī* order and including saints like Shaikh Abū ‘Uthmān Maghribī (A. H. 373), Abul Qāsim ‘Ali Jurjānī (d. A.H. 450), Khwāja Bahā-ud-Dīn Naqshband d. A. H. 791), Khwāja Muḥammad Pārsa (d. A. H. 822), Maulāna Nūr-ud-Dīn ‘Abdur Raḥmān Jāmī (d. 18th of Muḥarram, A. H. 896).

SECTION IV. (*Fol.* 81*a*-99*a*). *Saints of the Chishtī order.*

(95-119). This section includes saints like Sultān Ibrāhīm Adham (d. 16th of Jumāda I, A. H. 162), Khwāja Abū Aḥmad Abdāl Chishtī (the real founder of the *Chishtī* order, d. 10th of Jumādā I, A. H. 355), Khwājā Mu'in-ud-Dīn Chishtī (head of the *Chishtī* order in India, d. 6th of Rajab, A. H. 633), Khwāja Bakhtīyār Kākī (d. 14th of Rabī' I, A. H. 633), Shaikh Farīd-ud-Dīn Ganj Shankar (d. 5th Muḥarram, A. H. 664), Shaikh Niẓām-ud-Dīn Awliyā' (d. 18th of Rabī' II, A. H. 725), Shaikh Amīr Khusrau of Delhi (d. A. H. 725) and Shaikh Naṣīr-ud-Dīn Chirāgh of Delhi (d. 18th of Ramaḍān, A. H. 757).

SECTION V. (*Fol.* 99*b*-107*a*). *Saints of the Kubrawī order.*

(120-139). This section includes Najm-ud-Dīn Kubra (d. 10th of Jumādā I, A. H. 618), Maulāna Jalāl-ud-Dīn Rūmī (d. 5th of Jumādā II, A.H. 672) and his father Bahā-ud-Dīn Walad (d. A. H. 628).

SECTION VI. (*Fol.* 107*b*-118*a*). *Saints of the Suhrawarī order.*

(140-159). Shaikh Shahāb-ud-Dīn Suhrawardī (founder of the order, d. 1st of Muḥarram, A. H. 632), Ḥamīd-ud-Dīn Nāgorī (d. 643 A. H.), Bahā-ud-Dīn Zakariyya Multānī (d. 7th of Ṣafar, A. H. 666), Fakhr-ud-Dīn 'Irāqī (the poet, d. A. H. 688), Ḥaḍrat Makhdūm Jahānīān (Jalāl Bukhāri, d. 10th of Dhū-alḥijjā, A. H. 785.)

SECTION VII. (*Fol.* 119*a*-200*b*). *Saints of Miscellaneous orders:* مشائخ متفرقہ

(160-377). This section contains the largest number of lives noticed (217). It includes many prominent personages, poets, philosophers, theologians and mystics. Besides others it mentions the founders of the following religious orders: (1). *Hakīmiyya* founded by Muḥammad ibn 'Ali Hakīm altirmidhī (d. A.H. 255); (2). *Qaṣṣāriyya* founded by Shaikh Ḥamdūn Qaṣṣār (d. A.H. 271); (3). *Kharrāziyya* founded by Abū Sa'īd 'Kharrāz (d. A.H. 286); and (4). *Nūriyya* founded by Abū Ḥasan Nūrī (d. A.H. 295).

Other Saints whose lives have been noticed include Mālik Dīnār (d. A. H. 137), Ḥasan ibn Manṣūr Ḥallāj (d. 25th of Dhū-alqa'dah, A.H. 309), Abū Naṣr Sarrāj (d. A. H. 370), Abū Bakr Wāṣtī (d. A. H. 320), Imām al-Ghazālī (d. A. H. 505), Khwājā Ḥāfiẓ of Shīrāz (d. 792 A. H.), and Ḥakīm Sanā'ī (d. A. H. 525) etc.

SECTION VIII. *Female Saints* (*Fol.* 201*a*-225*a*).
(a) 378-388. The Prophet's wives.
(b) 389-392. The Prophet's daughters.
(c) 393-411. Other Saintly women.

EPILOGUE.

At the end of the work is a short epilogue in which Dārā Shikūh gives the date of the compilation (27th Ramaḍān, A.H. 1049) and acknowledges his debt to various standard works on the lives of the saints, especially the *Nafaḥāt-ul-Uns* of Jāmī. He also mentions the fact that he belongs to the *Qādirī* cult and styles himself as "the servant of the saints, Dārā Shikūh *Ḥanafī*, *Qādirī*, son of Shāh Jahān." He further remarks that he had been studying the lives of the saints from all available sources, but the accounts therein were meagre and their chronological correctness doubtful. So he took up the compilation of the present work, with a view to give for each saint information regarding his name, date of birth and death and other particulars scattered in various ancient and modern works.

The *Safīnat-ul-Awliyā'* furnishes many subjective statements about the author's own life. Some of these are given in the following :—

(1). The Qādirī order, and his devotion to its founder. (*Fol. 118a*)

وبدآنکه مدارِ استقامتِ عالم وانتظامِ امورِ آخروی بنی آدم ازین سلسلۂ عالیه است واکثر اهل اسلام از خواص وعوام خارج ازین سلسله هائی نیستند چراکه بی وسیله و دستگیریٔ این بزرگانِ دین رسیدن بمطلب اصلی وسلامت بردنِ ایمان ازین جهان بس دشوار است ونجات در عقبیٰ بی آنکه کسی درین سلسله هائے عالیه منظم باشد، باسانی متصور نیست۔ واین فقیر خود را در سلسلۂ متبرکه معظمه قادریه منظم گردانیده ودست در دامن سعادت قطبِ ربانی غوث صمدانی بادشاه مشائخ امام ائمه پیر دستگیر شاه محی الدین عبدالقادر جیلانی رضی الله عنه زده، امیدوار است که از برکتِ آن سید السادات نجات کونین حاصل نماید وحق تعالیٰ این کمینه بندهٔ خود را بایشان به بخشد۔

(2). Meets the four Imāms: a Dream (*Fol. 11a*).

و این فقیر در خواب بسعادتِ ملازمت خلفای راشدین رضی الله عنهم اجمعین، مشرف گشته، چنانچه شبی در خواب می بیند که چهار کس به لباس سپید بزرگانه متعاقب یکدیگر میروند۔ فقیر از شخصی پرسید که اینها چه کسانند؟ گفت: چهار یار پیغمبر صلعم۔ فقیر از عقبِ ایشان روان گشت۔ ایشان از دریا گذشته بر کوهی که بسیار بلند بود بر آمده و برابر هم ایستادند۔ فقیر پیش رفته اوّل بخدمتِ صدّیق اکبر گفت السلام علیکم یا صدّیق اکبر۔ در جواب فرمودند علیکم السلام گفتم التماس فاتحه دارم۔ فاتحه خواندند۔ بعد ازاں بهمیں روش بخدمتِ حضرت فاروق اعظم وسلام گفته التماس فاتحه نمودم۔ ایشان نیز خواندند۔ و بار بهمیں طور بخدمتِ عثمان ذو النورین و حضرت امیر المومنین علی رضی الله عنهم سلام گفته و جواب شنیده التماسِ فاتحه نمودم۔ ایشان نیز در بارهٔ این فقیر جدا جدا فاتحه خواندند و فرمودند۔ بجهتِ یادگاری امور شده ایم، و فقیر را به عنایت خاصی رخصت فرمودند۔ و این خواب را از بیداری بخت و سعادتمندی کونین خود میداند که بچنیں عطیه عظمیٰ مشرف گشته، والحمد لله علی ذلک۔

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(3). His tribute to Mullā Jāmī, whom he regards as his teacher. (*Fol. 79a*).

این فقیر همیشه تصانیفِ نظم و نثر ایشان را مطالعه می نماید و از برکت آن کلام حقیقت انتظام فائده می رباید و این کتاب (سفینة الاولیا) را که مینویسد همه از تتبع و شاگردی ایشان است و فصاحت و بلاغت در سوزِ حال حضرت مولانا (جامی) از کلام ایشان است و یکی از علمای این زمان در باب مولانا طعن و انکار مینمود و سخنان ناشایسته میگفت فقیر او را منع میکرد۔ بعد از وفات آن مرد یکی از فضلا که عالم و عامل است، شبی او را بخواب دید با اضطراب تمام۔ پرسید سبب اضطراب چیست؟ گفت: بدر بهشت رفته بودم و میخواستم در آیم که مولانا عبد الرحمن جامی آمد و دامنِ مرا گرفت و نگذاشت، و چوں نسبت اخلاص فقیر را بخدمتِ ایشان دانسته بود، نام فقیر را گرفت که بایشان بگوئید که مولانا عبد الرحمن جامی را بگوئید که مرا بگذارند و از تقصیر من در گذرند۔

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(4). His birth: (*Fol. 90a*).

ولادتِ این فقیر در خطۂ اجمیر بالائی ساگرتال روی داده، در سلخ صفر نصف شب روز دوشنبه سال یکهزار و بست و چهار هجری ۔ چون در خانۂ والد ماجد فقیر سه صبیه شده بود و پسر نمی شد و سن مبارک آنحضرت به بیست و چهار سالگی رسیده بود و از روی عقیدت و اخلاص که آنحضرت به حضرت خواجه معین الدین چشتی داشتند بمزار ان نذر و نیاز درخواستِ پسر نمودند و ببرکت ایشان حق تعالیٰ این کمترین بندۂ خود را بوجود آورد ۔ امید که توفیق نیکوکاری و رضامندی خود و دوستانِ خود نصیب گرداند ۔ آمین یارب آمین ۔

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(5). His views on the supurious verses incorporated in the *Ḥadīqa* of Hakīm Sanā'ī: A dream, visits his tomb at Ghazna. (*Fol. 116a*).

چون در حدیقه بعضی ابیاتِ نامعقول الحاقی است، از استماع آن در دل این فقیر انکاری بهم رسیده بود ۔ روزی که بغزنین داخل میشد بخود قرار داده بود که بزیارت جمیع اکابر آنجا مشرف گردد الا حکیم ۔ همان شب پیش از آنکه داخل شود بخواب میدید که در زیارتِ مزاراتِ مشایخ غزنین است و شخصی میگوید که این قبر حکیم سنائی است ۔ چون بآنجا رسید قبری از سنگ سفید دید که بران نوشته اند: هذا قبر حکیم سنائی، و درین شبه دارد که سُنّی نیز نوشته بود یا نه ۔ چون چنین مشاهده شد، فهمید که اشاره بآن که حکیم سنّی اند ۔ چون صباح آن زیارت کرد، همان قبر سنگِ سفید بروشی که خواب دیده بود مشاهده نمود ۔ یقین شد که آن ابیات الحاقی بدمذهبان مبتدع است ۔

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(6). Jahāngīr takes an augury from the *Dīwān-i* Ḥāfiẓ. (*Fol. 183a*).

خواجه حافظ مرید حضرت بهاء الدین نقشبند اند واکثر تفاؤلی که از دیوانِ حقیقتِ بیان ایشان نموده میشود موافق مطلب بر می آید، چنانچه جهانگیر پادشاه که در ایام شاهزادگی به سبب آزردگیٔ والد خود جدا شده در اله آبادی بودند وتردد داشتند در اینکه بملازمتِ پدر عالی قدر بروند یا نه۔ دیوان حافظ را طلب نموده فال کشادند واین فال بر آمد. غزل:

چرا نه در پیٔ عزمِ دیار خود باشم   چرا نه خاکِ رهِ کوئ یار خود باشم
غمِ غریبی وغربت چو بر نمی تابم   به شهرِ خود روم وشهریار خود باشم
ز محرمانِ سراپردهٔ وصال شوم   ز بندگان خداوندگارِ خود باشم
چو کارِ عمر نه پیداست باری آن اولیٰ   که روزِ واقعه پیشِ نگار خود باشم
بود که لطفِ ازل رهنمون شود حافظ
وگرنه تا به ابد شرمسارِ خود باشم

وبموجب این فال بی تأمل واهمال به سرعت روانه شده بملازمتِ ایشان مشرف گشتند وقضارا بعد از شش ماه اکبر بادشاه فوت کردند وایشان پادشاه شدند۔ این فقیر بدستخط جهانگیر پادشاه دیده که برحاشیهٔ دیوانِ حافظ این مقدمه را نوشته اند۔

(7). A Spiritual Experience: (*Fol. 51a*).

واوّل شبی که این کمترین مریدان شروع در نوشتن ذکر حضرت پیر دستگیر غوثِ اعظم نموده در واقعه خود را ببغداد دریافت در گنبد مبارک آنحضرت وبطواف حضرت امام موسیٰ کاظم وحضرت غوثِ اعظم رضی الله عنهما مشغول واز سعادتمندیٔ خود بایں شرفِ عظمیٰ مشرف گشت ویقین این فقیر شد که تحریر این کتاب بقبول گشت الحمد لله علی ذلک۔

(8). Mīāṇ Mīr and Dārā Shikūh: a glimpse of the meeting between the prince and the saint, who exerted great influence on the latter's spiritual life. (*Fol. 66a*).

واین فقیر دو بار بملازمت ایشان رسیده بود وحضرت ایشان کمال مهربانی وعنایت خاص بمن داشتند۔ چنانچه در سن بیست ویک سالگی مرا بیماری روی داد که اطبا از معالجهٔ او درماندند۔ چون پادشاه (شاهجهان) بخانهٔ ایشان رفتند، دست مرا گرفته گفتند که این پسر کلان ماست واطبا از معالجهٔ این درمانده اند۔ توجه فرمائید که حق تعالی این را به بخشد۔ ایشان کاسهٔ آب را طلب داشته، دعائی بران خوانده دمیدند وبه فقیر دادند۔ چون آن را آشامیدم در همه هفته صحت کامل یافتم وبالکل آن آزار برطرف شد۔ چون بعد ازین رسالهٔ در بیان احوال ومراتب آنحضرت وپیر ومریدان ایشان (سکینة الاولیا) نوشته شد درین کتاب بهمین قدر اکتفا شد۔

(9). At Ghazna visits the tombs of various saints: (*Fol. 104a*).

وقبر ایشان (شیخ رضی الدین علی لالا رحمة الله) در غزنی است مابین روضهٔ سلطان محمود واین فقیر بانجا رسیده ونماز عصر در آن روضهٔ متبرکه گذارده وهمان روز اکثر مزارات مشائخ غزنی را طواف نموده مثل ملک باریرنده (؟) وخواجه شمس العارفین وشیخ اجل سرزری وحکیم سنائی وامام محمد حداد وابی محمد اعرابی وخواجه محمد باغبان که در ربیع الاول سال چهارصد وهفت وفات کرده اند وخواجه علی ناز (؟) وخواجه احمد مکی وشیخ بهلول وخواجه ابی بکر بلغاری که میگویند از فرزندان صدیق اکبر اند وپرفیض ترین مزارات غزنین مزار ایشان است وشیخ عثمان ولد پیر علی هجویری وشیخ حاجی یلدی ختم الاولیا وخواجه بقال وتاج الاولیا میر فالیزبان وغیرهم قدس الله ارواحهم۔

(10). Visits the tombs of two more saints: (*Fol. 111b*).

(ا) قبر ایشان (حضرت خواجه بختیار کاکی) در دهلی کهنه است یمزار دیبترک و این فقیر بطواف آنجا رسیده

عجب پُرفیض مکانی۔

(ب) و قبر ایشان (شیخ حمید الدین ناگوری) بموجب وصیت پایانِ خواجه قطب الدین بختیار کاکی در دهلی

است و این فقیر بزیارت ایشان رسیده۔

Authorities quoted by Dārā Shikūh.

The main feature of these short biographical sketches is their simplicity in style and correctness of estimation. They are particularly valuable for a comparative strictness in the chronological order and the full dates they give. The compilation of such a work when the scientific means of research and collection of materials was not an easy task, must have required great labour. The authorities quoted by Dārā Shikūh in the *Safīnat-ul-Awliyā'* show a long range of historical, Ṣūfic, philosophical and biographical works. These include: al-Hujwīrī's *Kashf al-Maḥjūb* (18); 'Attār's *Tadhkirāt-ul-Awliyā'* (18); the *Shawāḥid un-Nabūwwat* (18); Shaikh 'Abdul Qādir's *Ghuniyāt uṭ-Ṭālbaīn* and *Futūḥ-ul-Ghaib* (36); Sharaf-ud-Dīn Isa's *Jawāhir-ul-Asrār* (37); Abul Faraḥ's *Jila-ul-Khāṭir* (40); Muḥyī-ud-Dīn Ibn 'Arabī's *Kitāb-ul-Jullas* (60); Imām 'Abdullāh Yafī'ī's *Takmala*, *Raūḍ-ul-Riyāḥīn* and *Nashr ul Maḥāsin* (62); Jāmī's *Nafaḥāt-ul-Uns* (91); Najm-ud-Dīn Rāzī's *Tafsīr Bahr-ul-Daqā'iq* (128); Amīr Ḥusainī Sādāt's *Kanz-ul-Rumūz*, *Nazhat-ul-Arwāḥ* and *Zād-ul Musāfrīn* (154); Shabistarī's *Gulshan-i-Rāz* (154); Muḥammad Pārsa's *Faṣl al-Khiṭāb* (211); Abū Naṣr Sarrāj's *Kitāb-i-Lum'a* (271); Abū Bakar Kalabādī's *Kitāb-i-Ta'rraf* (274); Mūsā Sulamī's *Tafsīr-i-Haqā'iq and Ṭabaqāt-i-Mashā'ikh* (284); Jahḍam Hamādānī's *Ḥujjat-ul-Asrār* (236); al-Qushairī's *Risālā'i Qushairīyya* and *Laṭa'if-ul-Ishārāt* (299); al-Ghazāli's *Tafsīr Yāqūt al-Tāwīl*, *Iḥya-ul-'Ulūm*, *Jawāhir-ul-Qur'ān*, *Kīmyā'i Sa'ādat* and *Mishqāt-ul-Anwār* (303); al-Shiblī's *Sharh Ima' al-Hasani* (310); Rūzbahān Baqlī's *Tafsīr-i-'Arā'is* (323); Farīd-ud Dīn 'Aṭṭār's *Manṭiq-ut-Ṭair*, *Besurnāmāh*, *Ilāhīnāmāh* and *Tadhkirāt-ul-*Awliyā' (331) and Abū al-Ma'ālī's *al-Tūḥfat-ul-Qādiriyya* (374).

Some Minor Notes on the Safīnat-ul-Awliyā'

(1) Salmān al-Fārsi (d. A.H. 33), one of the Prophet's companions' age is recorded as 1500 years. Others say 350, others again 250, and Dārā Shikūh has accepted the last statement. Dr. Ethe (*Cat. Vol. I. p.* 277) has shown surprise at it. There is nothing incredulous about it as Dārā Shikūh has probably followed the usually current estimate of his age. The *Iṣābah fi Tamyīz-al-Ṣaḥābah* (Vol. II) p. 224-225) confirms this statement with the remarks that al-Dhahābī puts his age at 80 without any authority.

(2). Shaikh Ma'rūf Karakhī (d. 200 A.H.) is enumerated as one of the *Qādirī* saints, but even admitting that the *Qādirī* order was called *Junaidī* before Shaikh 'Abdul Qādir (d. 561 A.H.), Shaikh Junaid hmiself died 97 years later (297 A.H.) than Ma'rūf Karakhī. The latter is also described as a pupil of Salmān al-Fārsi (d. 33 A.H.)!

(3). Shaikh Abū 'Umar 'Uthmān, one of the pupils of Shaikh 'Abdul Qādir is called *Yaqīnī*. But the more correct form is given in the *Nafaḥāt-ul-Uns* (p. 462) as *Ṣarīfīnī*, pronounced in the foot-note as:

صریفینی بفتح صاد مهمله و سکون یای مثناة تحتانیه و کسر فا و نون و یای نسبت ۔

(4). Shaikh Baqā ibn Baṭṭū is the correct name of the saint (*Nafaḥāt-ul-Uns*) for Baqāi bin Baṭṭūr as given in the *Safīnat-ul-Awliyā'*.

Some of the saints like Khwāja 'Abdul Wāḥid Zaid, a pupil of Ḥasan Baṣrī (d. 177 A.H.), Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Adham (d. 162 A.H.) etc. are included in the *Chishtī* order founded by Khwāja Abu Aḥmad 'Abdāl Chishtī (d. 355 A.H.).

(5) Even though the MS. is an autograph by Dārā Shikūh, there are plenty of orthographical mistakes in the pronunciation of names: Muḥammad bin *Mānkīl* (but according to *Nafaḥāt-ul-Uns*, p. 315 n2, *Bālkīl* or *Mālikīl*); Najm-ud-Dīn bin Muḥāmmad *al-adhānī* (according to *Nafaḥāt*, *alaukānī*); Aḥmad bin *Abī al-Ḥawārī* (*Safīnat*-reads al-Jwārī); Ḥātim bin *'Unwān* (*Safīnat* reads *'Ufwān*); 'Abdullāh bin *Jalā* (*Safīnat* reads *Jald*); Shaikh Dā'ūd al-Qaṣṣār *al-raqqī* (*Safīnat* reads *al-Raffī*); Abū 'Ali *al-Shafqī* (according to *Nafaḥāt*, *al-Thaqfī*, pronounced as: (p. 195 n1. الثقفی بفتح ثای مثلثه و قاف و کسر فا ۔); 'Ali bin Muḥammad *Suhail* (according to *Nafaḥāṭ*, p. 105, *Sahl*); Abul Khair *Ḥabshī* is read as Abū Junaid Ḥabshī, with the nick-name of *Ṭā'ūs-alḥaramain*, which according to *Nafaḥāt*, was in reality the name given to Abū Bakr alṭarsūsī, on account of his lengthened stay in Mecca.

CHAPTER III

THE SAKINAT-UL-AWLIYĀ'

"Of all the descendents of Timur, only we two, brother and sister were fortunate to obtain this felicity. None of our forefathers had tread this Path in quest of God and in search of the Truth......"

— JAHĀN ĀRĀ BEGUM

"......whosoever has joined the *Qādirī* fold, I leave him to you."

— MULLĀH SHĀH TO DĀRĀ SHIKUH

"God hath given him eternal sovereignty and my prophecy has not proved false......"

— SARMAD TO AURANGZEB

"Now my speech is identical with their speech. Nothing attracts me more than this *Qādirī* sect, which has fulfilled my spiritual aspirations......"

"Kai tawānam guft man k͟hud rā murid?
Qādirī bās͟had sag-i-īn āstān."

"How can I call myself a disciple?
Qādirī is a dog at this threshold."

— DĀRĀ SHIKŪH

The *Sakīnat-ul-Awliyā*' is Dārā S͟hikūh's second biographical work on saints.[1] Unlike its predecessor, the *Safīnat-ul-Awliyā*' which includes saints of diverse religious orders, it is exclusively devoted to the saints of the *Qādirī* order in India, with whom he was associated during his life. It was completed in the twenty-eighth year of the

The *Sakīnat-ul-Awliyā*'.

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[1] The work is still unpublished except in an Urdu translation lithographed at Lahore.

author in 1052 A.H. (1642 A.D.), only three years after the *Safīnat-ul-Awliyā'*. During his Viceroyalty of Lahore in year 1049 A.H., he met Mīāṇ Mīr,[2] the saintly disciple of Shaikh 'Abdul Qādir Jīlānī, and later in the year 1952 A.H., he came to know Mullā Shāh Badakhshānī, another erudite Qādirī saint and a poet-philosopher of great spiritual influence at Kashmir.[3] Dārā Shikūh admits that both exercised an enormous influence on his mind and it cannot for a moment be denied, that whatever spiritual illumination he gained at this stage, was chiefly due to their spiritual instructions. The inspiration obtained through his association with them inflamed his imagination. Their piety gave a decidedly spiritual turn to his mind and even after the death of Mīāṇ Mīr, for six years he received a healthy stimulus to his spiritual life from Mullā Shāh and devoted himself to the study of the lives and miracles of the saints. It was in the former year, as we know, that he selected the path of the *Qādirī* order for his spiritual enlightenment and salvation and became formally initiated into the fold of its fraternity. "God be praised," he writes to Shāh Dilruba, "due to my association with this glorious order, exoteric Islam has ceased to influence the mind of this *faqīr* and the real esoteric 'infidelity' has shown its face."[4] At another place he hopes that "through the blessings of this hierarchy of the saints of the (*Qādirī*) order, I would acquire God's grace in this world and the hereafter."

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[2] The *Sakīnat-ul-Awliyā'* (Urdu lithograph, Lahore) p. 5, wherein he says, "Till at last I met a God-knowing man on 29th of Dhū-alhijjah, 1049 A. H., at the age of twenty-five. He became very kind towards me............ I had become disgusted with this materialistic world and longed for spiritual illumination and now the doors of enlightenment and revelation were thrown open to me. I obtained what I sought."

[3] *Sirr-i-Akbar*: Introduction, MS. No. 52 in the Āṣifiya Library, Hyderabad Deccan, *fol. 2a*.

[4] *Ruqa'āt-i-'Ālamgīrī*, Vol. I, p, 322.

"O Lord," he continues in a verse, "my sole reliance is on Thy mercy; for, I hope not to attain my goal through my actions."[5]

Thus his association with the religious order of the *Qādirites* gave a new turn to his mystic ideals and the eclectic pantheism of its crude discipline provided for him a field for their further development. Even at this early stage he felt: "Now my speech is identical with their speech. Nothing attracts me more than this sect which has fulfilled my spiritual aspirations. My heart is full of their mystic allusions and interpretations. I am completely captiavated."[6] Elsewhere he observes: "The superiority and the "stations" of this glorious order have been revealed to me and all doubts and illusions with regard to its greatness have vanished from my mind. In my heart I know that its service constitutes my salvation in both the worlds."[7]

The *Sakīnat-ul-Awliyā'* not only contains a comprehensive account of the lives of contemporary Indian saints of this order but it also records his impressions of their devotional exercises which he had acquired after an intimate association with them. "I desired to record the mystic symbolism, religious practice and ascetic discipline of this sect in the form of a book," he writes, "but as every one knows that these secrets are better concealed than revealed and as I cannot express the delight and pleasure I feel, I thought it advisable to narrate briefly the lives and miracles of this glorious hierarchy of saints."

A short Introduction to the work is followed by a shorter Prologue. In the former he reiterates his veneration for the saints in general and classifies them into

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[5] *Safīnat-ul-Awliyā'*, *op. cit.* (*fol.* 6*b*).

[6] *Sakīnat-ul-Awliyā'*: Introduction.

[7] *Ibid.* p. 9.

The Introduction and the Prologue.

twelve different groups (*ṭwāif*) who profess God, *viz.*, the *Muwaḥḥids* who are by far the best, the *'Ārifs*, the *'Ās͟hiqs*, the *Ṣābiqs*, the *Muḥibbs*, the *Muwakkins*, the *Mukās͟hafs*, the *Mas͟hāhids*, the *Sāliks*, the *Ṣādiqs*, the *Rāḍīs*, and the *Murīds*. Corresponding to each of these groups are twleve attributes and fountain-heads, "from the eternal wine of which they receive inspiration." These are unity of God, devotion, sincerity, truth, humility, resignation, contentment, generosity, faith, wisdom, love and seclusion respectively. In the prologue the superiority of the *Qādirī* order is emphasised over and over again. It is held to be a composite of all these virtues. Besides various spiritual doctrines, *viz.*, the importance of spiritual guide for Divine Communion, the method to find and approach such guide, the desirability or otherwise of esoteric songs, the method of meditation and contemplation etc. are briefly discussed. The expository character of the work is apparent from the fact that the aphorisms of the saints have been discussed in the light of his personal experiences, and the practices of the various religious orders, in relation to their views on different mystic problems, have been mentioned in a comparative sense. While upholding the superiority of the filiation of the *Qādirī* order, to which his personal attachment and regard was undoubtedly unwavering, he has referred to many other religious sects:—the *Junaidī* of S͟haik͟h Junaid, the *Zaidiyya* or *Wāḥidiyya* of K͟hwāja 'Abdul Wāḥid Zaid, the *Nūriyya* of S͟haik͟h 'Abul Ḥasan Nūrī, the *Ṭaifūriyya* of Bāyazīd Bisṭāmī, the *Adhamiyya* of Ibrāhīm Adham, the *Muḥāsibiyya* of Ḥārit͟h bin Asad, the *Suhailiyya* of Suhail bin 'Abdullāh Tustarī, the *K͟hafīfiyya* of S͟haik͟h Abū 'Abdullāh K͟hafīf and the four most prominent rival sects of the *Qādiriyya* order, *viz.*, the *C͟his͟htiyya* of K͟hwāja Mu'in-ud-Dīn C͟his͟htī, the *Naqs͟hbandiyya* of S͟haik͟h Bahā-ud-Dīn Naqs͟hband, the *Suhra-*

wardiyya of Shaikh Shahāb-ud-Dīn and the *Kubrawiyya* of Shaikh Najm-ud-Dīn.

Its Contents.

The *Sakīnat-ul-Awliyā'* is divided into three sections. The *first* section deals with the life, miracles and supernatural gifts of Mīāṇ Mīr under six sub-headings: pedigree; title and place of birth; his relations with Shāh Jahān and Jahāngīr; his contentment; general appearance; dress and description of places where he used to sit in meditation. The *second* section deals with the life and miracles of his sister Bībī Jamāl Khātūn. The *third* section contains notices on the lives of Mīān Mīr's disciples in two *firqas*, *viz.*, those who died before the completion of the work (1052 A.H.) and other contemporary saints of the order. It is in the latter portion that he has noticed the life of Mullā Shāh, his spiritual guide and preceptor.

The Supernatural element in the *Qādirī* order.

Unlike the *Safīnat-ul-Awliyā'* which is mainly based on the standard works on the subject, like the *Nafaḥāt-ul-Uns* of Jāmī, the *Tadhkirāt-ul-Awliyā'* and others, the *Sakīnat-ul-Awliyā'* makes a further advance in his religious quest. It is the outcome of mature thought and experience. Not being a compilation of the orthodox oriental literature, it forms the fruit of his intimate knowledge of the actualities of belief and practice among the *Qādirites* and the distinctive individual characteristics in their religious thought. The religious fabric of the *Qādirites*, as we will find presently, is unduly diminished by an overestimated importance attached to the supernatural powers of performing mircles. The system, it must be noted, is intricately interwoven with the psychical phenomena *viz.*, prognostications, miracles, spiritual visions, mystic interpretations of dreams and a wide range of hybrid superstitions. "It must be noted, " observes E. G. Browne, "that certain aspects of Muslim saints as recorded by their disciples and admirers, are to the western mind somewhat repellent; their curses are no less effective than their blessings and their indulgence no less remarkable than their abstention while grim jests on the part of such as have incurred their displeasure are not uncommon."[8] Notwithstanding this aspect of the miracles of the saints, it cannot for a moment be denied that they form, to a very great extent, the basis of popular belief in Islamic thought. According to Al-Ḥujwīrī, these may safely be vouchsafed to a saint as long as he does not infringe the obligations of religious law.[9] Opinion as to their affirmation is widely controversial, but even the most orthodox Muslims admit that they are not intellectually impossible and their manifestation as a fact preordained by God does not in any way come into clash with the fundamental principles of Islam; but to carry them beyond the borders of all intellectual phenomena and their conception as a genus is absolutely repugnant to the modern mind.

Dārā Shikūh's belief in the miracles.

Dārā Shikūh's implicit faith in the miraculous power of the saints is quite untenable as he has nowhere tried to establish it on a sound and reasonable basis or on the evidence borne out by the *Qur'ān* and the Traditions. His appreciation of the fantastic charm of the supernatural often takes the shape of absurd sentimental incongruities mingled with an unsophisticated intellectualism, and though we cannot for a moment doubt his sincerity of purpose, we feel that his not too lukewarm belief in fatalism made him blind towards hard facts and stern actualities of life. This naturally became his greatest weakness and was, to a great extent, responsible for his failures in life. It also developed in him a defeatist mentality, which he consciously or unconsciously shrouded under the veil of spiritual superiority. He often sought consolation under its shadow. At one time, when after a series of miserable failures in the expedition of Qandhār, in the year 1051 A.H., he led his army against Ṣafī Mirza, the ruler of Irān, whose attitude towards that Mughal province was threatening, he appealed to his spiritual guide Mullā S͟hāh to come to his rescue. " When I proceeded to Qandhār to give a battle to Ṣafī Mirza, I appealed to Mullā S͟hāh for help," he writes,[10] " who wrote to me : ' *when you shot the arrow it was not shot by you but by God Himself.*' Shortly afterwards the king of Iran fell so prostrate as never to rise again. He was poisoned by his own men and died." But apart from this aspect of his superstitious convictions, however whimsical and eccentric they may appear, it can never be doubted, that the advancement of his religious belief, which gradually drifted him towards the dangerous waters of pantheism, was due to his association with the saints and a thorough knowledge of their religious experiences. The mystic allegories helped him to clarify and properly comprehend the practical aspects of Divine knowledge, the nature of the various stages of the Path and the doctrines connected with them ; its immediate effect was the growth of a strong faith in his convictions and a rigour and assiduity in his devotion, the latter fact gradually tending to draw him towards a life of mystic contemplation.

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[8] *Literary History of Persia*: Vol. IV. p. 40-41.

[9] *Kashf al-Maḥjūb*, (Gibb Memorial Edition), p. 218.

The *Sakīnat-ul-Awliyā*, though a biographical work on the Qādirī saints, does not contain a systematic and lucid exposition of their doctrine. On the other hand, it narrates many personal religious experiences of the saints which give an idea of their mysterious ways of life. The doctrines of the *Qādirites* are not fundamentally different from other religious orders ; and as enunciated by Dārā Shikūh, they govern the conduct, rules and exercises, though not in a rigid manner, according to the principles of Islam. Much emphasis is laid on peculiar religious ceremonies called the *Dhikr*. They have strict rules for silent devotional excercises and prefer a solitary contemplative life. In the *Risāla'i Ḥaq Numā'*, he has dealt fully with the religious practices of "his own order" and it would not be out of place to give a brief synopsis of his impressions here.

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[10] *Sakīnat-ul-Awliyā'*, p. 144.

Qādirī doctrines as embodied in the *Sakīnat* and *Haq-Numā.*

Dhikr, which literally means "remembering," in the mystic terminology signifies the religious devotion practiced by the Qādirites It is two-fold: *Dhikr-i-Jalī* and *Dhikr-i-Khāfī*; the former is recited in public with loud voice while the latter is performed in silence or mentally. It consists of the recitation of a number of God's names and their influence on the initiated with the object of conveying its inner meaning and affecting thus "the union of heart and tongue" in invoking the name of God. With *Dhikr* always accompanies the second stage of devotion—*Marāqba* or silent meditation upon some prescribed verses of the *Qur'ān*.

The Dhikr.

The system of religious exercises of the *Qādirites* involve rigid discipline of body and mind, but Dārā Shikūh had no faith in them. He considered that penances and self-mortifications, though of incalculable advantage to the regular ascetic, are in fact a hindrance in the way of the neophyte. Soon after his initiation into the fold he wrote: "It was at this time that God opened for me the gates of unity and wisdom . . . and my entry into the School of the Perfect was effected; the discipline of the order to which the author owes his allegiance, contrary to the religious exercises of other sects, involves no pain and difficulty:

> There being no asceticism involved, all is gracious and falicitous—
> All is love, affection, pleasure and ease."[11]

Qādirī system of meditation.

A brief analysis of Dārā Shikūh's exposition of the form of *Qādirī* meditation as given in the *Risāla'i Ḥaq Numā'* is necessary here. First of all man's troubled soul in search for Truth, comes into the Physical Plane (*'Ālam-i-Nāsūt* or the World of Waking Consciousness. In this world of sensation and perception, the attainment of the acme of existence is perfect, through the unbounden joy acquired therefrom, but his spiritual quest makes him restless. The first step which he should take is "to find out some quiet, solitary place for meditation." The method of meditation is simple: the novice must then concentrate all his attention on his heart for visualising the Beloved. There are three centres of meditation in the heart, *viz.*, the cedar-heart, (*dil-i-ṣanowbarī*) conical in shape, possessed by all men as well as animals, by which physical heart is not meant, as he adds, "it has a mystic significance known only to the selected few." Obviously the centre of the astral body of the man is implied here. The second is the spherical-heart (*dil-i-mudawwarī*)located in the centre of brain, which is colourless and corresponds with the Mental Plane; and from this centre of meditation no danger of distraction is conceivable. The third is the lily-heart (*dil-i-nīlofarī*) located in the rectal centre of the lower part of the body.

The meditation on the three centres of the heart, usher the neophyte into the Plane of Counterparts (*'Ālam-i-Mithāl*) which forms a gateway to the Astro-mental Plane (*'Ālam-i-Malakūt*). The latter is also called the World of Subtility and the World of Dreams. In sharp contrast to the Physical Plane, the visions which he beholds in this world are not transitory and here the consciousness of the body gives way to an extremely refined thought-form (*jasd-i-laṭīf*), "an exact counterpart of the former, having eyes, ears, tongue and all other sense-organs and also the internal functional organs, without however the external physical organs of flesh and blood." The method of meditation in this world, "which would remove rust from the heart and from which the mirror of soul would become luminous," includes briefly *D̲h̲ikr-i-k̲h̲āfī* or the recitation of God's name mentally and slowly without the movement of tongue. This is followed by the practice of *Ḥabs-i-Dam* or the regulation of breath. Both are combined with perfect concentration on the heart. In the latter case, the freedom of heart from all superfluities is essential, for unless complete attention is devoted to purge all dubious and distracting elements, the "internal sounds" would not be heard by the neophyte.

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[11] *Risāla'i Ḥaq Numā'* p. 4-5.

The Astro-mental Plane.

The Sulṭān-ul-Ad̲h̲kār.

The "internal sound," known in the mystic phraseology as the Voice of Silence, is sharply differentiated from the physical sound, which is compound and ephemeral and proceeds when two objects strike against each other; and also from the physiological sound which is boundless and infinite and self-existent, as it is produced without the contact of two dense bodies. This primeval sound is only heard by men of illumination. This form of meditation is termed as the *Sulṭān-ul-Ad̲h̲kār* or the King of Meditations. "O friend, when you want to commence the practice of meditation called *Sulṭān-ul-Ad̲h̲kār*," Dārā S̲h̲ikūh explains,[12] "proceed to a lonely spot, free from the haunts of men or to a cloister, where no sound can reach and sitting there direct your attention to your ears with a perfect concentration of mind; then you would hear a subtle sound, which would gradually become so powerful and overwhelming that it would draw your mind aside from its environments and would submerge it into its own self. Once they asked the Prophet, in what manner the inspiration came to him. He replied that he heard a sound sometimes like the sound of a boiling cauldron and sometimes like the sound made by bees and sometimes he saw an angel in the form of a man who talked to him and sometimes he heard a sound like silvery bells or the beating of a drum. It is to this effect that an allusion is made in the following verse:

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[12] *Ibid.* p. 17.

> "No one knows about the abode of my sweet-heart,
> Of this much I am conscious that I hear the constant
> chime of the bells!" —(*Ḥāfiẓ*)

And in this verse:

> "To the caravan of my Beloved I cannot reach,
> It is enough that the sound of bells is constantly ringing in my ears."
> —(*Jāmī*)

When the Ṣūfi disciple acquires prefection in this form of meditation, then the world of subtle and casual planes as well as the plane of absolute unity would become a blessing to him. "This practice would make you refined and homogeneous," he writes,[13] "and this ocean of subtle causes and absoluteness would efface your multi-colouredness and would make you uniform; the ocean of Truth, the fountain-head of your existence, would heave up in your heart and you would feel that every sound that exists in the universe emanates from the voice of unlimited immensity."

The third stage of meditation is in the Plane of Bliss (*'Ālam-i-Jabrūt*) where a trance-like wonder overpowers

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[13] *Ibid.* p. 20.

The Plane of Bliss.

and where "waves of bliss after bliss, of joy after joy, of contentment after contenment and of peace and rest after peace and rest submerge the soul under their folds. The man enters the *Jabrūt* unconsciously and pain and sorrow cannot come to him and no forms of either physical or astro-mental plane can have an access to his mind." The method of meditation in this plane is in this manner : all limbs of body should be at perfect rest and kept away from every kind of emotion; both the eyes must be closed and the right palm should be placed on the left and the heart should be emptied of all forms of physical and superphysical planes.......

And finally the Plane of Absolute Truth (*'Ālam-i-Lāhūt* which is the origin of three lower planes of *Nasūt*, *Malakūt* and *Jabrūt*. It envelops them all and remains itself uniform in its essential nature and no modification or alteration is conceivable in it: "*That is the first, that is the last, that is the manifest, that is the hidden and that with all other objects is cognisant.*"

Qādirī Symbolism.

There is no evidence in the works of Dārā S͟hikūh to show that after joining the *Qādirī* fold, he adopted the outward formalities of dress and costume enjoined upon the neophyte. The symbolism of the *Qādirites*, as we know from his circumstantial remarks in the *Sakīnat-ul-Awliyā'* and other works, is apparent in their costume. They wear a long *k͟hirqa* or mantle, made of coarse woolen material with upturned collar, wide sleeves reaching just below their knees. It is considered a symbol of piety and its origin is attributed to the holy mantle of the Prophet, which was entrusted to Uwais. The *kulāh* or cap, made of a number of gores, each signifying a sin abandoned, is also held to be of Divine origin. Its long triangular shape is adopted in consideration for the shape of the "vase of light" wherein God has deposited the soul of the holy Prophet. To this cap is attached a rose which is also a mystic symbol:

> The rose on the head honours the wearer,
> It points to the path of Qādirī discipline.[14]

It has three circles and numerous rings; the former signify respectively the law of God as revealed by the holy Prophet, the path of the *Qādirī* order and Divine Knowledge—all signifying jointly that their acquisition is most essential for the neophyte.

The Life and Miracles of Mīāṇ Mīr.

We now proceed to discuss his relations with his spiritual guide Mīāṇ Mīr in the light of the notice on his life in the *Sakīnat-ul-Awliyā'*. The famous saint Mīāṇ Mīr or Mīāṇ Jīv was a descendant of Caliph 'Umar and his ancestors were natives of Sīstān, which lies between Bhakkar and T͟hīt͟ha. Dārā S͟hikūh's account of his life is very meagre in the details of his early life. He was born in Sīstān in 957 A.H. (1550 A.D.) and at the age of twelve he used to attend the discourses of S͟haik͟h K͟hiḍar, a staunch adherent of the *Qādirī* order, who was renowned for his piety and learning. It was at the age of twenty-five that he arrived at Lahore and settled in Muḥalla Bāg͟hbānpura known as K͟hāfīpura. He stayed here for sixty-five years. In the year 1045 A.H. he breathed his last in the cell in which he resided in Muhalla K͟hāfīpura; "his pure soul having taken leave of his bodily cage has passed into the regions of highest heavens——its real home, and thus the drop has become ocean." He was burried in the village called G͟hiāt͟hpur in the vicinity of 'Ālamganj near Lahore. The following chronogram, composed by Fateḥullāh S͟hāh and recorded by Dārā S͟hikūh, is still inscribed on his tomb at Mīāṇ Mīr near Lahore:

> "Mīāṇ Mīr the chief of the gnostics,
> The dust of whose portals is envied by the stone of the alchemist,
> Made his way to the City of Eternity,

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[14] Brown: *The Dervehes*, p. 121.

Being disgusted with the world of woe,
Reason wrote the year of his death :
Mīāṇ Mīr has gone to the highest heaven."[15]

Shāh Jahān and Mīān Mīr.

As we already know, Dārā Shikūh met Mīāṇ Mīr at Lahore in the company of his father and it seems that at that time he was much influenced by his piety and spiritual gifts. He gives a very vivid account of his first meeting with the saint. "His Majesty used to say," he writes "that in his whole life he had come across two saints having the Knowledge of God—one was Māīṇ Mīr and the other Shaikh Muḥammad Faḍlullāh of Burhānpur. He felt great reverence for the former and visited him twice in the year 1040 A.H. I accompanied him during these visits and afterwards he used to say that Māīṇ Mīr surpassed all saints in detachment and renunciation . . . . It so happened at that time that I was suffering from a chronic disease and for four months the physicians had not been able to cure me. The king took me by the hand and with great humility and reverence entreated the saint to pray to God for my health. The saint took my hand into his own and gave me a cup of water to drink. The result was immediate and within a week I recovered from the serious malady. At the termination of his conversation with the saint, the king presented him a turban and a rosary and received his benedictions."[16]

His second visit.

The second visit produced still greater effect on the mind of the prince. "On this occasion I went barefooted to his house and he gave me a rosary; and while he was talking to the king, he threw out of his mouth chewed clove which I gathered and ate and when the king left I lingered behind. I went upto him and placing my head on his foot remained in that position for some time." The same year on the 27th of Ramaḍān, he visited him again and received instructions in *Mushāhada* (contemplation) and beheld the *Lailat-ul-Qadr*.[17] "One night I saw Mīāṇ Mīr," he continues, "and he said to me, 'Come I would teach you the method of contemplation.' Having himself sat in meditation, he asked me to sit in the like manner and then initiated me into its secrets......At another occasion on Monday the night of 7th of Dhū-alḥijja, I found him reposing outside his house. I went near and paid my respects. He took me by the hand and drew me near; then he drew my shirt aside and also removed his cloak thus exposing his chest. He then drew me close to him and placing his right nipple upon my own remarked, 'It had been entrusted to me, take it away.' Thereafter such exuberating lights emanating from his heart entered mine that eventually I begged, 'It is enough, Sir, if you give me more my heart would burst.' From that moment I find my heart full of enlightenment and ecstasy." [18]

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[15] The chronogram in Persian gives this date of his death as 1045 A.H.

[16] The *Sakīnat-ul-Awliyā'*, p. 142.

The Lailat-ul-Qadr.

The account of his beholding the *Lailat-ul-Qadr* is more vivid. " In the early hours of a Monday morning, by the grace of God and kindness of Mīāṇ Mīr, I witnessed " the Night of Power. I was sitting with my face turned towards the Ka'ba, when a sudden restlessness of mind overtook me. I stood up and paced steadily on the ground, but my mind was awake and perturbed. At dawn I saw a palace of grand structure which was surrounded on all sides by gardens. As I thought, it was Mīāṇ Mīr's mausoleum. He came out of the tomb and sat on the chair, and when he saw me he called me by his side and showed me every kindness. Afterwards he took me by the hand and said, 'Come I would teach you something.' He then uncovered my face and placed his two index fingures in my ears, with the result that the *Sulṭān-ul-Adhkār* over-powered me, and the sound affected me so much that after enveloping me within itself, it threw me off the ground. I then lost my consciousness and such a 'state' overtook me as it is not possible for me either to describe or write. It can neither be comprehended in interpretations or allusions. I obtained what I sought. My pleasure increased and to me distance and nearness became alike. '*God be praised. That is the bounty of God. He gives it to anyone He wishes. His bounty is great.*'

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[17] The *Lailat-ul-Qadar* or "the Night of Power" is a mysterious night in the month of Ramaḍān, the precise date of which is said to have been known to the Prophet and few of his Companions ......The excellences of this night are said to be innumerable and it is believed that during its solemn hours the whole animal and vegetable creation bow down in humble adoration to the Almighty. (Hughes' *Dictionary of Iṣlam*, p. 284.)

[18] The *Sakīnat-ul-Awliyā'* p. 142-44.

Jahāngīr and Mīāṇ Mīr.

Another story is told about Jahāngīr and Mīāṇ Mīr.[19] Speaking of the accomplishments of the latter, he records that Jahāngīr had little faith in saints and *derveshes* and he used to torture them; but on the other hand he entertained great esteem for Mīāṇ Mīr. Once he invited him to Agra and treated him with great veneration. The Shaikh had a very long conversation with His Majesty in which he dwelt mainly on the unstability of the world; his advice had such an effect on the mind of the Emperor that he expressed a desire to become a disciple of the saint and abandon the world. The latter, however, admonished him to continue his worldly persuits, observing that kings had been made for the protection of God's people and that in ruling over them he was discharging an important duty entrusted to him by the Creator.

The Emperor was much pleased to hear this and he asked, " O Shaikh, do you want anything ? "

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[19] *Ibid.* Also in Latif's *History of Lahore*, where this incident is told in a slightly different manner.

" I shall ask you for one thing : " replied the S͟haik͟h, " do you promise to give it to me ? "

"Most certainly I will grant it," said Jahāngīr.

The holy S͟haik͟h said, "My only wish is that Your Majesty would not give me the trouble of coming to you again."

With the assurance of the Emperor to this effect, the S͟haik͟h withdrew; but the former continued to send him autograph letters.[20]

MULLĀ S͟HĀH AND OTHER SAINTS

Dārā S͟hikūh's notice on the life of his 'friend, guide and spiritual teacher,' Mullā S͟hāh, as recorded in the *Sakīnat-ul-Awliyā'*, is full and vivid, rich in anecdote and illustration, and resplendent with religious emotions and aphorisms. It is written with a frank directness as the outcome of a profound intimacy. "Mullā S͟hāh is that sublime personality, to whom every invisible object is clear," he observes in one of his verses;[21] and "having him on my side, my mind fears not a hundred foes; O you, who have made the house of *Qādirī* (Dārā S͟hikūh) flourishing, may the Almighty keep you as his benefactor." Briefly his life is divided into four sections : his birth and parentage; his spiritual gifts and miracles; his letters to Dārā S͟hikūh and a selection of his poetical compositions. For biographical details the most contemporary accounts are, Tawakkul Beg's Biography of Mullā S͟hāh, Jahān Ārā Begum's *Ṣāḥabīya* (of this hitherto unknown work we would give details later), 'Abdul Ḥamīd's *Pādshāhnāma*, Mirza Muḥsin Fānī's *Dabistān-i-Mazāhib* and the *Mir'āt-ul-K͟hayāl*; circumstantial notices on his life are also recorded in Latif's *Lahore : Its History, Architectural Re-*

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[20] Two such letters are recorded by Dārā S͟hikūh in the *Sakīnat-ul-Awliyā'*, p. 38.

[21] *J.R.A.S.B.*, Vol. No. I, p. 160

mains and Antiquities, Nūr Aḥmad's *Taḥqīqāt-i-Chishtīyya* and Bernier's *Travels*.

Life of Mullā Shāh Muḥammad. —

Mullā Shāh Muḥammad, known by the epithet of *Lisānullāh* (tongue of God), a native of Badakhshān, was the son of Mullā 'Abdī Muḥammad, the Qāḍī of a town Arkasa in Badakhshān. For his nativity of that place, he was often called the 'Pearl of Badakhshān.' "A man enquired of me," says Dārā Shikūh,[22] 'how is that that the pearls are scarce in Badakhshān?' 'It is because,' I replied promptly, 'that the *Lāl-i-Badakhshān* (Mullā Shāh) has left that place." The date of his birth is not known, but according to Tawakkul Beg, he died in the year 1072 A.H. (1661 A.D.) and was buried at Lahore close to his master Mīān Mīr,[23] but Bernier and Beale[24] both say that he died in Kashmir in 1070 A.H. (1659-60 A.D.), the former statement is corroborated both in A'ẓam's *Tārīkh-i-Kashmīr* and *Sarkar's Aurangzeb*. As against these, Dārā Shikūh in an elegy on the saint gives the exact date as Tuesday, the 15th of Ṣafar, 1052 A.H. (1642 A.D.). Dārā Shikūh mourns his death in the following verses:[25]

> "When the chief of land and sea departed,
> Why should the heaven be not tearful?
>
> In poverty (*fuqr*) he followed the Prophet,
> And deemed gold inferior to dust.
>
> Should that Muḥammad had not come into existence,
> The people of East and West would have gone astray.
>
> To saints death is inadmissible,
> As "*Lā yamūtūn*" is recorded in the Sayings of the Prophet.
>
> He departed in the year one thousand and fifty-two,
> On Tuesday, the fifteenth of Ṣafar."

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[22] *Sakīnat-ul-Awliyā'* (Lahore Lithograph).

[23] Latif: *Lahore, Its History, Architectural Remains and Antiquities* (1892), p. 59.

[24] *An Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 278.

[25] *J.R.A.S.B.* (op. cit.).

Soon after his arrival in India in the year 1023 A.H. (1614 A.D.)[26], he came to Lahore and became the disciple of Mīāṇ Mīr, whose great fame he had heard in Badakhshān. Two years later he left for Kashmir, with a number of *Qādirī* adherents and settled down. But according to Jahān Ārā Begum's account, he came to India at the age of twenty-five and went direct to Kashmir, where he spent three years as a student. Thereafter he came to Lahore and remained in the service of Mīāṇ Mīr for approximately nineteen years, and during all these years he went back to Kashmir only in summer.

An Account of the First Meeting.

Although the precise date of meeting with the saint is given in the *Sirr-i-Akbar* (1050 A.H)[27], it is quite probable, that he might have known Mullā Shāh even before he met Mīāṇ Mīr. The *Sakīnat-ul-Awliyā'* is silent in this respect, but Jahān Ārā Begum in her biography of Mullā Shāh[28] admits that her brother had spoken very highly of the saint and had induced her to become a *Qādirī* adherent, even before she reached Kashmir (9th Dhu-al-ḥijja, 1049 A.H.) and saw the saint during the same year. Dārā Shikūh, who commanded an expeditionary force against the Persians in 1048 A.H. (1639 A.D.) returned to Kashmir and remained there for six months (March 1640—September 1640), and according to the *Safīnat-ul-Awliyā'*, he had a number of meetings with the saint. The slight acquaintance soon developed into intimate friendship and deep affection and in the same year as Tawakkul Beg tells us "that it was not without considerable difficulty that the Prince induced him to accept him as a disciple in 1049 A.H. (1640 A.D.)." Dārā Shikūh narrates the incident most graphically :[20] "When I went to see him for the first time, since he had not seen me before, he asked me who I was. 'I am a *faqīr*,' I rejoined respectfully. 'But even the *faqīrs* have a name?' he asked. 'Nothing is hidden from you,' I replied. 'Now I know you,' he remarked and took me by the hand and seated me by his side. I said that my aspirations I had stated in the following quatrain :

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[26] *Pādshānāma*, Vol. I. p. 333.

[27] *Vide*, Introduction, p. 5. *Supra*.

[28] Jahān Ārā Begum's *Ṣāḥabīya* (MS. copy in the Āpārāo Bholānāth Library Ahamadabad.)

"Lost in my own self-consciousness, I seek the gnosis,
For in sincere faith I have placed myself in the hands of Mullā Shāh.

Walk in graciously, O dear, and whisper into my ears
The Divine Secret; for I seek the Truth.

"Smilingly he replied that he had discerned my utmost desires and remarked that I had lost my way and that he had found me again :

"Those who in sincerity of faith seek the Fortune,
Ultimately find their way unto it.

The fortune which symbolically means the gnosis of God
Is invariably associated with the threshold of Mullā Shāh."

It is noteworthy here to record, that Dārā Shikūh's sister Jahān Ārā Begum was also initiated into the *Qādirīyya* order by Mullā Shāh. A hitherto unknown work of the Princess has recently come to light. This is a small tract on the life of Mullā Shāh entitled the *Ṣāḥabīya*, the MS. copy of which, perhaps the only extant—is preserved in the Āpārāo Bholānāth Library, Aḥamadabād. It contains Foll. 19, lines 15 per page, written in *Nasta'līq* mixed with Shikasta, completed on the 27th of Ramaḍān, A.H. 1051. The work has been noticed in the Punjab University Oriental College Magazine (Vol. XIII, No. 4). In certain respects, the *Ṣāḥabīya* is largely personal and more vivid in details about Mullā Shāh's life, miracles and disciples. At the end there are about a dozen verses of

Jahān Ārā Begum's Biography of Mullā Shāh.

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[20] The *Sakīnat-ul-Awliyā'*, p. 124-25.

Jahān Ārā's own composition. The Princess admits that for twenty years she was a devoted adherent of the *Chishtī* order. She not only visited the tomb of Khwāja Mu'in-ud-Dīn Chishtī, but also wrote his biography, entitled the *Munis-ul-Arwāḥ*, a work which is quite well known.

It is evident from the work that on account of the persuasive influence of her brother Dārā Shikūh, whom she calls as ' the perfect gnostic ' and ' the heir-apparent to the esoteric and exoteric kingdoms,' she ultimately joined the *Qādirī* fold. Her own plea to this effect is not quite understandable. "I am devoted to the *Chishtī* order," she says, " and although at the present time, there are great Chishtī saints alive, they prefer to live in a state of seclusion (*mastūr-ul-ḥāl*). I am twenty-seven years old, and without further loss of time, I was obliged to become a disciple of a perfect guide of any one of the orders." On the 9th of Dhū-alḥijja, A.H. 1049, she accompanied her father to Kashmir and stayed there for about six months. Mullā Shāh was also at that time in Kashmir. "My brother had spoken very highly of the saint and so I became his admirer," she observes. She also describes that it was Dārā Shikūh who mediated on her behalf and persuaded the saint to accept her as a disciple and instructed her the methods of Qādirī meditation. Of her devotion to her brother, she says, " I love my brother Dārā Shikūh extremely both in form and spirit. We are, infact, like one soul in two bodies and one spirit in two physical forms." She met the saint twice and received letters from him occasionally.

She speaks of her attachment to the *Qādirī* order in this manner : " Of all the descendents of Timūr, only we two, brother and sister were fortunate to obtain this felicity. None of our forefathers ever tread this path in quest of God and in search of the Truth. My happiness knew no bounds. My veneration for Mullā Shāh increased and I made him my guide and spiritual preceptor in this world as well as the hereafter." In one of her verses she calls him:

"My guide, my lord, my creed and my refuge,
O Mullā Shāh, I have none except you and my God."

And:

"Seek the way to the street of Mullā Shāh,
For, he is the keeper of the treasure of the Unity of God."

Soon after her initiation into the *Qādirī* fold she observes: "The idea rankled in my mind that I was a Chishtī disciple, and now having joined the *Qādirī* order, will I obtain illumination or not? Would Mullā Shah's teachings and advice benefit me? Meanwhile a peculiar 'state'—which was neither sleep nor wakefulness—overpowered me. I saw the Conclave (*Majlis*) of the Holy Prophet, where the Four Friends, noble companions and great saints were also present. Mullā Shāh, being among the latter, had placed his head on the feet of the Holy Prophet, who graciously remarked: "O Mullā Shāh, thou hast illumined the Timuride lamp." When I regained consciousness, my heart beamed with joy on account of these happy tidings. I bowed my head in gratefulness before the Almighty and read this quatrain:

"O Shāh, with piety thy magnanimous insight
Directs the seekers to God:

On whomsoever thou condescendeth to cast a glance, he obtains his goal;
Perhaps God's Light has transformed itself into the Light of thy vision!

"It is due to the blessing of my spiritual guide that I beheld the Conclave of the Holy Prophet and the Great Friends and heard from his tongue: "O *Mullā Shāh, chirāgh-i-Taimūrīyya rā tū raushan kardī*!" I understood that it was said for dispelling my doubts... ... ."

Mullā Shāh, according to Dārā Shikūh observations, was "a man of wide intellectual outlook and a pantheist of sublime imagination and great humanitarian tendencies." He had gained spiritual illumination by his great piety and hard devotional practices. A comprehensive account of the physical austerities and spiritual excercises practiced by him is given in the *Sakīnat-ul-Awliyā'*.[30] These include, the regulation of breath,[31] constant night vigils, religious vows, incredibly long fasts, meditations and visions etc. Mīāṇ Mīr had a very high opinion of his spiritual attainments and all his disciples were entrusted to his care. In one of the quatrains he says:

Spiritual attainments of Mullā Shāh.

> "The one who is initiated into the ways of Divine knowledge
> Is Mullā Shāh—the Gnostic of the Path.
>
> The magic influence of his discourses is known to all and sundry;
> Today he is addressed by the epithet of *Lisānullah*.

Mullā Shāh's discourses to his disciples were on the different stages of the Path *viz.*, *tark* (renunciation), *fuqr* (poverty), *tajrīd* (celibacy), *istghana* (contentment), *tawakkul* (faith in God), *riḍā* (quietism) and *taslīm* (submission). Dārā Shikūh admits that his charming personality and profound knowledge made everlasting impression on his mind, and that he decided to sit at his feet to receive instruction from him into the mysteries of Divine Knowledge. But though himself used to hard devotional exercises, Mullā Shāh imposed no stern discipline upon his royal convert and for him he had to discover a shorter and simpler course in which he used his will power and personal magnetism and revealed to him the hidden aspects of spiritual knowledge.[32] Dārā S͟hikūh accounts for this inconsistency in the method of instruction. " Once he told me," he remarks,[33] " that he had abandoned all practices and that his meditations now consisted in the realisation of his own self and recited this verse:

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[30] *Vide*, p. 119—122.

[31] "For seven years," writes Dārā Shikūh, "beginning soon after the evening prayers, late till dawn, he practiced the *Dhikr-i-Khāfī*, by means of the regulation of the breath and he taught me this method..." (p. 119). And with regard to the vigils, he says "One of the hard disciplines practiced by him for a little over thirty years, upto the present day, (1052 A.H.) was that he never slept. Once I mentioned this fact to him, to which he replied that he remained uniform in all stages and that for lovers sleep is unlawful." (*Ibid*).

"The sweet odours of the Beloved emanate profusely from within my own self;
For this reason, every movement, I hold in my arms, my own self!"

Mullā S͟hāh led a very simple and unostentatious life of poverty. No servants were kept, no meals were cooked and no lamps were lighted in his house and he used to sit in darkness. "One night as I attended upon him," says Dārā S͟hikūh, " he asked some one to bring a light, and then turning towards me remarked that he had ordered the light for me as he always meditated in the darkened cell and recited this verse:

"The fire of your love illuminates our abode:
In this darkened cell of ours a light we burn not.

"Thereafter he remarked that there were many considerations for his preference to darkness, because:

"Darkness, if thou wert to realise, is the light of the Universal—
In darkness lies the 'stream of elixir':
From this fountain-head, emanates the light of manifestations,
Many a thing I have to say, but I will speak not."[34]

A mystic and a free-thinker.

Mullā S͟hāh was one of the most eminent *Qādirī* teachers in India. A man of culture and refined literary tastes, he was himself a scholar and a poet of no mean distinction. As a mystic he was very outspoken and unconventional in his utterances, and as a theosophist his ideals stood higher than those of the exponents of the standard doctrines. As a liberal thinker, he believed in the fundamental uniformity of all religious beliefs. Overwhelmed by his own religious emotions, he had a vivid realisation of the close relation subsisting between human soul and God and conceived with ecstatic pleasure in the innermost recesses of his soul the Beatific Vision. His letters to Dārā Shikūh lay emphasis on this aspect and give instructions on the sublimity of human soul and its ascent to God. "The object of the creation of man is his attainment of the *gnosis*, for as it is said: ' the aim in the creation of mankind and *genni* is mainly for knowledge and truth''; and as God hath said: 'Verily I was a hidden treasure, when I desired to be known, I created the universe'."

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[32] *Ibid.*

[33] *Ibid.* p. 119.

[34] *Ḥasanāt-ul-'Ārfīn*: (Aphorisms of Mullā S͟hāh), p. 32.

Exposition of the *Law*, the *Path* and the *Truth*.

Speaking of the *Sharī'at* and the *Ḥaqīqat*, which ordinarily denote, 'soundness of outward state and maintenance of the inward state ' respectively, Dārā Shikūh quotes one of the aphorisms of Mullā Shāh.[35] ''He said to me,'' he writes, "O you, who adhere to the real faith, prayers are not obligatory for you, for at the moment you are in the state of intoxication (*sukr*) and ecstasy. Intoxication is of higher degree than prayers (*namāz*) and in relation to God is nearer to Him. If the *sukr* be phantasmal (*majāzī*), prayers are prohibited for fear of pollution: an act for the preservation of the sanctity of the latter. On the other hand, if the *sukr* be real, then too, prayers are not allowed; in this case it is for the preservation of the sanctity of the former. The Divine Beloved possesses the eyes of a lover. Visualise the Truth and act upto its ideals; turn your eyes away from the exoteric and look into the hidden secrets. The *Qur'ān*, too, is not fully comprehensible to the casual. The Law (*Sharī'at*) is the cause of the path (*Ṭarīqat*), which in its turn is the cause of the Truth (*Ḥaqīqat*).[36]

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[35] *Ibid.*

Similarly, Dārā Shikūh's[37] description of Mullā Shāh's conception of the Faith (*Imān*) is also note-worthy. " Faith is three-fold," Mullā Shāh once said: " First is the faith of commonality, which consists in verbal profession and verification—'Faith is belief in God and the Prophet and the angels and the revealed books and in life after death and in hell and heaven.' Second is the faith of those of the inner circle, which consists in physical and mental obedience to any one of the Divine attributes, whichsoever illumines the mind; such being the case with Moses who could not forbear the light of Divine attribute. Third is the faith of those of the innermost circle, which is in reality 'the gnosis, the acknowledgement and acceptance,' and consists in the absorption of all human attributes in search of God. This is possible when 'the veil of ego is lifted and the mind is illumined with the light of Divine manifestations. The dim recollection of conscious life fades

Mullā Shāh on the *Faith.*

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[36] Both these terms are interpreted by the Ṣūfi's in different manner. Some assert that the Law is the Truth, but the orthodox theologians denounce this doctrine which is held by the *Carmathians* and the *Shī'ites*. 'The proof,' the argue, 'that the Law is virtually separate from the Truth lies in the fact that in faith, belief is separate from profession.' While others assert: 'that the proof that the Law and the Truth are not fundamentally separate, but are one, lies in the fact that belief without profession is not faith, and conversely, profession without belief is not faith.' But according to al-Hujwīrī, the difference between the two is established, while at the same time, their mutual relations with one another cannot be ignored. The former denotes a reality which 'admits of abrogation and alteration; while the latter, on the other hand, is a uniform reality from beginning to end, which does not admit abrogation.' One is the creation of man, while the other is 'God's keeping, preservation and protection.' One may be compared to soul and the other to body and so one cannot be maintained without the existence of the other.

[37] *Ḥasanāt-ul-'Ārfīn* (Aphorisms of Mullā Shāh), also the *Sakīnat-ul-Awliyā'*, p. 139.

away and man is unmindful of time, place and distance.' ''[38]

Mullā Shāh was the most eminent disciple of Mīāṇ Mīr. The latter, a teacher of enormous influence, was more or less, of retired habits and contented disposition and regarded the attachment and devotion of Dārā Shikūh to the *Qādiī* order of no great consequence, but the former, when he saw the Mughal heir-apparent won over to the fraternity, visualised in him the dream of its glorification and a not too distant supremacy over all other religious orders in India. Akbar and Jahāngīr had extended royal favours to the *Chishtī* sect and had made it very popular with the people. We know that Dārā Shikūh was not a religiuos propagandist, but none can deny, that had he ascended the Delhi throne, with royal patronage and propagation, he would have made 'his own order' the leading sect of popular thought in India. Such were Mullā Shāh's expectations. ''When on the 7th of Jumāda II, on the eve of setting on an important expedition, I went to him to receive his benedictions,'' writes his royal adherent,[39] '' a number of persons, pious and devoted were in attendance. He introduced me to each one of them and thereafter dwelt on various aspects of the Truth and the Reality of Being. When I asked permission to leave, he gave me a letter in which he expressed himself freely. It began with the usual words of kindness and affection and said *that he had entrusted to my care the disciples of the Path, for, he considered me as the most distinguished and fit person to impart instructions to them.* As I took leave, I begged that through his kind guidance I might carry my faith and convictions unimpaired from this world. To this he replied

Mullā Shāh expects royal patronage of the order from Dārā Shikūh.

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[38] *Sakīnat-ul-Awliyā'*, p. 139.

[39] *Ibid*, p. 130.

that my end would be well..... Thereafter I rose and placed my head on his feet. He took me by his hand and embraced me in exuberance of love and remarked: 'Whosoever has joined the *Qādirī* fold, I leave them to you'."

There are two more references to this effect, which are mentioned by Dārā Shikūh: "After I had left, Mullā Sa'īd informed me that Mullā Shāh expressed strong hopes that I would do my utmost for the propagation of the *Qādirī* order and would win over multitudes to the fold." "And Mullā Miskīn told me," he writes at another place, "that one day Mullā Shāh remarked that many a people he had initiated into the mysteries of the Path and had placed his reliance on them for the propagation of the order, but none of them came upto his expectations. He added that this young Prince (Dārā Shikūh) would, without doubt, fulfil his ambition."[40]

Mullā Shāh's letters to Dārā Shikūh

Mullā Shāh's letters to Dārā Shikūh[41] form a very interesting study. In contrast to the high-sounding word-jugglery and florid and ornate style, with which a prince of royal blood was usually addressed to, their beauty lies in their directness of appeal, natural sentiments, sound advice, sweet words and at times bitter rebukes. They are completely devoid of formal ambiguities and show that Mullā Shāh's influence on the spiritual and moral life of the Prince was immense and that the master and the pupil lived on the terms of most affectionate intimacy. In these letters Dārā Shikūh is addressed as, "May you behold the vision of the Beatific (letter 1)......" "You who are initiated into the Divine mysteries (letter 3) ......" "I repose great confidence in your sagacity and farsightedness (letter 4) ....." "My sincere friend whose equanimity of mind and love for truth is established (letter 6) . . . . " "O spiritual and temporal king (letter 9)." Their outstanding characteristic is that they are not addressed to a prince but to a neophyte of the Path and contain elucidation of various mystic doctrines, *viz.*, gnosis of God, unification, faith, poverty, piety, detachment etc., etc.

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[40] For full details, vide, the *Sakīnat-ul-Awliyā'*, p. 138-39.

[41] Eleven letters of Mullā Shāh are recorded by Dārā Shikūh (p. 139-152).

" May you attain the bliss of the Eternal," says one of the letters, "May the heart of the enlightened one be immune from the evil breath of his foes. Remember that the secrets of the fold should never be divulged to outsiders; do keep them concealed. It should be clear to you that one should be less inspired in the company of those who have less benefit of the God's Grace; do not be overconfident. It is evident that for the completion of one's work, exertions to the utmost are incumbent; do exert yourself. He who is sincere in his intentions is surely a lover and he who is a lover is worthy of the bliss of the vision of the Beatific. The perfect man is he, who is not reprehended by anybody whether common people or inmates of the innermost circles; who does not neglect the performance of any work enjoined upon either by the dogma of Islam or the path of the esoteric Islam. First comes the *gnosis* which is the effect of good company. The second is the *concentration of mind* which is the result of self-control. The third is the *law* which means conformity with mankind in general. Inwardly our every action must conform with Truth; and outwardly we should act like people at large. Love those who hold similar views and shun the hypocrites." Speaking of the above letter Dr. Qānūngo[42] remarks that it is a severe comment on some of Dārā Shikūh's faults of character. Without taking notice of the capacity and the character of people Dārā Shikūh would communicate great spiritual mysteries and practices to them and neophytes in general.

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[42] *Biography*, Vol. I. p. 356.

Mullā Shāh, notwithstanding, his detachment from the world, was not altogether indifferent to the stern realities of life, to which he draws the attention of his less practical-minded pupil.

In another letter he writes: "May you attain the bliss of the Beatific. Your letter and the book you have sent me through Shaikh Muḥsin have reached me. I have been much impressed by the feelings of love and affection expressed by you; this is natural, for the precious commodity of Love is ever cherished by those of sublime: 'the goldsmith knows the worth of the gold, and the jeweller of the jewels.' God knows how much gratified I was to know of your attainments and if for a moment you take to heedlessness it would diminish my pleasure. I have great faith in your sagacity and farsightedness and believe that if you keep into view the greatness of the Omnipotent's threshold and its dignity, ignorance which deprives a man of spiritual pleasures, would not come near you. This 'state' often overtakes those who have an access into the court of reality and truth. *Beware and know that their fate has been placed in your hands.*" At another place he says, "Once you recognise Him, you would always do so. Never despair and endeavour to the utmost. For you who has found the Path, it is necessary. If you act otherwise, woe betide you and your pretentions of being a lover . . . ."[43]

The second and the fourth sections of the notice on Mullā Shāh's life, dealing with his miracles and his poetical compositions are not without interest. In the former, the miracles of Mullā Shāh are of extraordinary character, ranging from his feats of physical and devotional exercises, *viz.*, control of breath, night vigils, spiritual visions and dreams etc., to his

Miracles of Mullā Shāh.

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[43] *Sakīnat-ul-Awliyā'*, p. 139.

meeting with Khiḍr on the banks of the Rāvī. "I have heard," says Dārā Shikūh,[44] "that once he chanced to meet Khiḍr (may peace be on him!), but he (Mullā Shāh) took no notice of him. When I asked about this incident, he replied: 'One day I had gone to the Rāvī to wash my clothes. A man emerged out of the river and since I was in a state of meditation, he asked me to hand him over my clothes for washing; for, he contended that I could not do two things at a time. To which I replied that I could. Upon hearing this he vanished'." Other miracles include: his divination of the secrets of the mind of a man when confronted with him face to face (p. 114); his inordinately long fasts for the purification of the soul (p. 125); his proficiency in the contraction (*qabḍ*) and expansion (*bast*),[45] (p. 127); his spiritual visions etc. etc.

Aphorisms etc. noticed in the work.

Eminent persons whose aphorisms and sayings have been noticed in the *Sakīnat-ul-Awliyā'* include the Prophet, those of the house of the Prophet and the Imāms (p. 2-4); Shaikh 'Abdul Qādir Jīlānī (p. 12); Shaikh Bāyazīd Bisṭāmī (p. 13); Shaikh Abū Bakr Shiblī (p. 39); Imām-ul-Muwahaddīn Shaikh Ibn-ul-'Arabī (p. 50); Abū Sa'īd Abul Khair (p. 52); Sahl bin Tustarī (p. 55); Abū Bakr Miṣrī (p. 56); Khwāja Mu'īn-ud-Dīn Chishti (p. 57); Shaikh Najm-ud-Dīn Rāzī (67); Shaikh-ul-Islām Khwāja 'Abdullāh Anṣārī (p. 75) and others. Besides numerous verses of Ṣūfi poetry, aptly cited in connection with the exposition of various doctrines, are those of Jalāl-ud-Dīn Rūmī (p. 19, 23, 30, 67, 140, 151 & 162); Shaikh Sa'dī (p. 57, 71); 'Abdul Qādir Jīlānī (p. 151, 163); Niẓāmī (p. 66) and Sayyed 'Alā-ud-Dīn (p. 31). The verses and quatrains of Mullā Shāh and Mīāṇ Mīr are given on pages (28, 117, 124, 125, 130-131, 139 & 152-158) and (25 & 27) respectively. Five quatrains of Dārā Shikūh also appear on pages (19, 53, 61, 73 and 169).

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[44] *Ibid.* p. 123.

[45] *Qabḍ* and *bast* denote the contraction of the heart in the state of being veiled and the expansion of the heart in the state of revelation. (*Kashf-al-Maḥjūb*, 374).

Mullā Shāh's poetry.

The fourth section contains a selection of the poetical compositions of Mullā Shāh, comprising 10 *ghazals* and 18 *rubā'īyāts*. The Dīwān of Mullā Shāh whose *nom de guerre* was *Shāh*, according to Dārā Shikūh, "contains most wonderful points and exquisite subtleties and is full of knowledge and mystic allusions. All these qualities are rarely met with in any other collection of poetry. It contains many *rubā'īs* and a commentary thereon, *ghazals*, *mathnawīs* and a collection of his letters. Every verse thereof is unique and contains the meaning of the two worlds."[46] Judging the poetic excellence of Mullā Shāh, from the few specimtns recorded, (which also depict Dārā Shikūh's poetic appreciation of current mystic thought) we can, without hesitation say, that they represent elegance of language, sublimity of thought and grace of diction. His *quatrains* throw much light on his religious belief, and the ethical and moral principles preached by him. Some of the views expressed therein are positively hetrodox and, according to orthodox Islamic conception, approach very near heresy. But the poetic latitude can be allowed to him; for drunk with Divine love, he had departed from the fold of the orthodox and had let himself adrift in the dangerous waters of gnosticism. He could not, therefore, escape the malicious remarks of the orthodox school who said that " this landed him on the benighted shores of infidelity."

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[46] *Ibid.* p. 152. Jahān Ārā Begum, whom Mullā Shāh had presented a copy of his *Dīwān*, also says that it is a unique piece of composition. 'Day and night,' she observes, 'I keep it before my eyes and study it. I believe that in recent years, none has and none would give such a thorough exposition of the Unity of God.' (*Ṣāḥābīya*, op. cit.).

Letters to Shāh Muḥibbullāh and Shāh Dilruba.

Of Dārā Shikūh's correspondence with the saints, Mullā Shāh, Mīāṇ Mīr, Shāh Muḥibbullāh, Shāh Dilruba and others, whatever has been preserved, even in its fragmentary character,[47] the main theme is the discussion of mystical doctrines of diverse nature and the clarification and exposition of the doubts and misgivings in the mind of the young aspirant. "To the compendium of esoteric and exoteric sciences," he addresses Shaikh Muḥibbullāh Allāhbādī in one of his letters, " who is proficient in the comprehension of the stages of form and spirit.........Shaikh Muḥibbullāh, this lover of the saints (Dārā Shikūh) sends his greetings and felicitations: I respectfully acknowledge your letter containing your answers to my questions with utmost gratitude and satisfaction; its contents have enlightened me with your views on the subject and have given me pleasure and delight. Some of the answers have been exactly to my expectations and while the others I have identified with my spiritual longings and inclinations (which are in confirmation with the holy *Qur'ān* and the *Sunnah* of the Prophet of God)...For years I have been studying books on the 'inner state' of the saints but controversies being abundantly found therein, I have discarded them hereafter, devoting my whole self to the study of the mind, which is a boundless ocean where pure gems are always to be found:

"Refer me not anymore to such books,
For my conscious-self is an open book to me."

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[47] These letters to my knowledge are as follows: 6 letters to Shāh Muḥammad Dilruba contained in the *Fayyād-ul-Qawānīn* and reproduced in the *Ruqa'āt-i-'Ālamgīr* (Vol. I, p. 319-324); 2 letters to Shāh Muhibbullah Allāhabādī (*Ibid*, p. 325-330): 1 letter to Sarmad (*Indian Antiquary*, 1924) and 2 letters in a MS. of the *Safīna-i-Baḥr-ul-Muḥīṭ* in Berlin Library (*Pertsch*, p. 40, 45).

Another interesting letter to Shāh Muḥammad Dilruba (p. 149), the 'veiled mystic and saint,' celebrated for his piety and devotion is also addressed in the same vein. " This saint," writes Dārā Shikūh, " had selected for himself the corner of obscurity. He did not uncover his face and talked to people from behind a screen. Once he told me that he did not wish to expose his face to the vision of all. I remarked that to behold his face was a blessing. He then agreed that he would only uncover his face before those whom he thought as the men of the Path; thus the commonality would, of their own accord desist from approaching him . . . ." [48]

The following letter of Shāh Muḥibbullāh is in answer to a few questions put by Dārā Shikūh and their elucidation by the former: [49]

Dārā Shikūh: What is the true significance of the 'Great Veil' (*Ḥijāb-i-Akbar*)?

Shāh Muḥibbullāh: Knowledge associated with mind is benficial; it constitutes a burden when related to body. Thus knowledge which tends to perpetuate the fancy of duality, is in reality an obstruction. From another point of view, however, when it attaches itself to the light of limitations, without the individual being conscious of it, of a certainty it is the ' Great Veil,' for, the acquisition of knowledge, of whatever kind it might be, is an obstruction; because the attributes envelop the Universal Person in a screen. The gnostics, therefore, in their discourses to the seekers on devotion, have not confined it to limitations.

Dārā Shikūh: Has the spiritual advancement an extremity?

Shāh Muḥibbullāh:

"O brother, the Path leads to an endless track,

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[48] *Ḥasanāt-ul-'Ārifīn*, p. 33.

[49] *Ruqa'āt-i-'Ālamgīr* (op. cit.).

Proceed, the way lies before you."

In relation to the Universal Person it is as you are already aware of it.

Dārā Shikūh: Is it possible to acquire spiritual perfection by soul-discipline?

Shāh Muḥibbullāh: Such a question, coming as it is from a monotheist in search of the Unity of God (Dārā Shikūh), sounds strange! The individual is perfection in itself, for the soul provides him with true discipline. In fact, so long as he remains entangled in the whirlpool of fancy, he considers the manifestations apart from Him and attributes Divine Grace to it.

Dārā Shikūh: How can the mind be capable of holding the Infinite within its own self?

Shāh Muḥibbullāh: Mind has an access to the Infinite, for, it is endless in its own end; and if this fact is not comprehended properly, it would not be possible for human mind to contain the Infinite.

Dārā Shikūh: Does the Lover attain immortality with the Beloved?

Shāh Muḥibbullāh: My soul! the two terms of Lover and Beloved are known due to the felicity of the former; so even after the attainment of gnosis by him, the torments in the *niche* of the grave still confront him:

"Union with the Beloved is divine to the friends."

Dārā Shikūh: Does the Lover attain union with the Beloved after death?

Shāh Muḥibbullāh: *Death constitutes a bridge which links friend with friend.* Whatever exposition to this effect was given by the perfects, was the outcome of matured experience; for, infact, the perfection of man is unattainable without death.

Dārā Shikūh: How can we differentiate between love and affliction?

Sh̲āh Muḥibbullāh: Affliction is the ladder which leads to love, for, it is said:

> All in this universe, in part or in whole,
> Constitute the arch of a bridge in Love's Path.

Dārā Sh̲ikūh: When Sayyed-ut-Ṭā'ifa replied, "*Turning towards the origin*" in answer to: "*What is the end?*" what was its true significance?

Sh̲āh Muḥibbullāh: The origin, you must know, is the diversion from the reality, in consequence of a fancy for duality; and the *end* is a complete comprehension of the reality. Other reason being the soul's journey towards the *origin* of the Physical Plane (*'Ālam-i-Nāsūt*) which is the seat of the most Gracious; its *end* marks declivity from height, which is a position for the Imāms of gnosticism. This is the Physical Plane, because the universe is involved in a cycle of encirclements, the centre of the circle, revolving along the circumference is an end in itself.[50]

Dārā Sh̲ikūh: "*Verily he is transgressing and ignorant.*" Is this verse in condemnation of man or in his commendation?

Sh̲āh Muḥibbullāh: It is said in compassion for him.

Dārā Sh̲ikūh: Since the universe is not perishable, how can we account for the effacement of things?

Sh̲āh Muḥibbullāh: According to: *Everything is perishable except His face*, things perish. Whatever remains is due to its own capacity and metonymy of its absolute nature.

Dārā Shikūh and Sarmad.

Very little attention has been paid by the historians to the relations of Dārā Sh̲ikūh with contemporary saints. It is a great tragedy of events that this most important aspect of the devotional life of the unfortunate prince has not only been ignored by contemporary Muslim writers, but also by his most modern biographers. The records and documents which throw light on his spiritual relations with the living saints of the time, still remain untouched. The most important of these, of course, are the hitherto mentioned two biographies of the saints, particularly the *Sakīnat-ul-Awliyā'*, which contains about a dozen letters of the prince addressed to Mullā Shāh Badakhshānī; the *Mukālāma Bābā Lāl wa Dārā Shikūh*, a dialogue on comparative mythology between the latter and a saint of the order of Kabīr; the *Ḥasanāt-ul-'Ārifīn*, wherein many intimate details of his relation with some contemporary saints are recorded, and the *Fayyāḍ-ul-Qawānīn*, a collection of the letters of the Mughal princes and court nobility, which contains eight letters of Dārā Shikūh to Shāh Dilruba and Shāh Muḥibbullāh, asking for illumination on some of the mystic doctrines. To these we may add the circumstantial accounts of contemporary historians, like the author of the *Mirāt-ul-Khayāl*, the *Riāḍ-ul-Shu'ra* and the *Storia de Mogor*, which furnish some details of his relations with Sarmad.*

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[50] Reference is here to the fact that the beginning of everything was the earth atom (*nuqṭah*).

His early life and views.

Sarmad, the Ṣūfi martyr of Delhi, according to the authors of the *Dabistān-i-Madhāhib* and the *Riāḍ-ul-Shu'ra*, was originally an Armenian Jew converted to Islam. He was born at Kāshān and came to India in 1654 A.D. A man of culture and erudition, he was well-versed in comparative religion and occult sciences. Devoid of the religious zeal born in a new convert, he was one of those liberal thinkers who boldly translated their convictions into action. His theosophical outlook is apparent from one of his quatrains, which is cited by Mirza

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* It is odd that none of Dārā Shikūh's biographical works makes a reference to the life or sayings of Sarmad.

Muḥsin Fānī. "I obey the Qur'ān," says Sarmad, "I am a Hindu priest and a monk; I am a Rabbi Jew, I am an infidel and I am a Muslim."[51] Drunk with Divine love and ecstatic pleasure, he lost self-consciousness and turned a nudist. Soon afterwards he set on "wanderings" and came to Delhi, where his association with men of Ṣūfi thought gave a stimulus to his spiritual yearnings and he began to preach his hetrodox Ṣūfi ideas. Here people flocked round him for his great sanctity and supernatural powers and he began to wield a potent influence over the religious mind of the people.

Dārā Shikūh meets Sarmad.

When Dārā Shikūh came to know of Sarmad, he brought to the notice of Shāh Jahān the miraculous powers of the saint[52] and later on invited him to his court and, due to the mutual comprehension of similar mystic ideals, they soon developed intimate regard for each other. The author of the *Mir'āt-ul-Khayāl*, due to his convictions of the orthodox fold, describes this meeting in his own way: "As Sulṭān Dārā Shikūh had a liking for the company of lunatics," he observes, "he kept Sarmad's company and enjoyed his discourses for a considerable time." Nicolo Manucci also cynically remarks,[53] that Dārā Shikūh liked a Hebrew atheist called Sarmad, who went always naked, except when he appeared in the presence of the prince, when he contented himself with a piece of cloth at his waist. Only Bernier's attitude towards Sarmad is sympathetic and the description of his execution is vivid and accurate.

There are accounts of very conflicting nature as to the reason of Sarmad's nudity, with regard to which we have no mind to enter into discussion, but it would be more appropriate to record here his own defence of living in *partibus naturalibus*,[54] which he advances in one of his exquisite quatrains :--

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[51] Vide. the *Islamic Culture*, October 1933, p. 669.

[52] *J.R.A.S.*, Vol. XX (New Series), p. 120.

[53] Vide. *Storia de Mogor*, Vol. I. p. 384.

Sarmad explains his

> "He who made thee rule this universe,
> Has endowed us with the cause of all distraught.
>
> Those with deformity, He has covered with dress;
> To the immaculate He gave the robe of nudity."

Not much has come down to us concerning the nature of the discussions between Dārā Shikūh and Sarmad, but it can be easily surmised that its main trend centred round some of the most intricate and controversial aspects of spiritual problems. Only one letter of Dārā Shikūh to Sarmad and the latter's reply has been preserved.[55] Dārā Shikūh addresses him as "my guide and preceptor" and writes : "Every day I resolve to pay my respects to you. It remains unaccomplished. If 'I' be 'I', wherefore is my intention of no account? If 'I' be naught, where is my fault? Though the assassination of Imām Ḥusain was the will of God, who is Yazīd between them? If it is not the Divine Will, then what is the meaning of : '*God does whatever He wills, commands whatever He intends.*' The most excellent Prophet used to go to fight with the infidels and defeat was inflicted on the army of Islam. The exoteric scholars say it is discipline in resignation. For the perfect what discipline was necessary?"

Dārā's letter to Sarmad.

To which Sarmad replied with the following couplet : "Dear friend,

> Whatever we have read, we have forgotten,
> Save the discourse of the Beloved which we reiterate."[56]

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[54] *J.R.A.S.* op. cit.

[55] *Indian Antiquary*, 1924.

[56] *Indian Antiquary*, op. cit.

Sarmad's tragic end.

Sarmad's end was as tragic as that of Dārā Shikūh. Like the latter he was hated by the orthodox. He, too, was dubbed as a heretic and on the subterfuge of religious disbelief, the council of the Ulema summoned by Aurangzeb passed an order for the execution of the "saint of insanity," It is also mentioned by some historians that Sarmad had predicted that Dārā Shikūh would succeed Shāh Jahān to the Imperial throne of Delhi. When after the execution of Dārā Shikūh, he was brought before Aurangzeb (1661 A.D.), who questioned him as to the validity of his statement, Sarmad replied: "God has given him eternal sovereignty and my prophecy has not proved false." According to Manucci,[57] he also sarcastically added, "But you cannot see him, for you tyrannise over those of your own blood; and in order to usurp the kingdom, you took away the life of your brothers and committed other barbarities." This infuriated Aurangzeb and he ordered his immediate execution. But whatever may be the reasons for Sarmad's execution, one fact stands out clear. "Dārā Shikūh was condemned because of his 'apostasy,' Sarmad too was condemned because he contributed partly to that 'apostasy'. Aurangzeb was a stern puritan. Deeply as he disliked his elder brother for his politics and his leanings towards the tenets of non-Muslims, his first act, as soon as he came to power, was to remove that arch-heretic and those who aided and abetted him in his apostasy and heretic notions."[58] With the unusual courage of a martyr, Sarmad ascended the scaffold and when he saw the executioner raise a naked sword, he smiled and exclaimed :

> "The sweetheart with the naked sword in hand, approaches near :
> In whatever garb Thou mayst come, I recognise Thee!"[59]

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[57] *Storia de Mogor*, Vol. I.

[58] *J.R.A.S. op. cit.*

[59] *Ibid.*

Dārā's letter to Aurangzeb.

It would be interesting to read the following letter of Dārā Shikūh which he wrote to Aurangzeb from his prison, just before his execution. It clearly repudiates the charges of the biased historians that in the villainous disguise of a mystic, Dārā Shikūh in reality was "a crafty intriguing politician:"

"My brother and my king,

I think not of sovereignty. I wish it may be auspicious to you and your descendants. The idea of my execution in your lofty mind is unnecessary. If I am alloted a residential place and one of my maids to attend to me, I would pray for Your Majesty from my peaceful corner."

Aurangzeb disdainfully wrote this verse on the back of the letter and sent it back to him:

"*And you had disobeyed before and had been one of the seditious.*"[60]

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[60] Vide. *Ruqa'āt-i-'Ālamgīr*, Vol. I. p. 330.

CHAPTER IV.

THE ḤASANĀT-UL-‘ĀRIFĪN

> “ My aphorisms?”
>
> “All these aphorisms are mine, for, they are in accordance with the greatest of all aphorisms—the Truth.”
>
> —DĀRĀ SHIKŪH

THE APHORISMS OF SAINTS.

Its Aims and Objects.

The *Ḥasanāt-ul-‘Ārifīn* or the Aphorisms of the Saints, completed on Sunday, Rabi‘-ul-Awwal, 1, 1064 A.H. is the third work on saints. It contains the sayings and aphorisms of one hundred and seven saints and mystics of various religious orders. The object of the compilation of the work is described thus in the preface: “ Says this unsolicitious Muḥammad Dārā S̲h̲ikūh, since at this time *i.e.* in the year 1062 A.H., being the thirty-eighth year of this *faqīr* (Dārā S̲h̲ikūh); I was enamoured of studying books on the ways of men of Path and had in my mind nothing save the attainment of Unity of God; and since before this time, in a state of ecstasy and enthusiasm, I had uttered some words pertaining to sublime knowledge, certain sordid and abject fellows and some dry, insipid and bigoted persons, on account of their narrow outlook, accused me of heresy and apostasy. It was then that I realised the importance of compiling the aphorisms of great believers in the Unity of God and saints who have heretofore acquired the knowledge of Reality, so that these may serve as an argument against the fellows, who were really imposters (*Dajjāls*), although they wore the face of Christ; and Abū Jehls, although they assumed the garb of Moses and that of the followers of the Prophet.[1] ''

Continuing he remarks that since the aphorisms of the mystics as compiled by Rūz Bahān Baqlī were written in a metaphorical language, replete with numerous allusions and similies and were above the intelligence of an average individual, he therefore had arranged and collected them and set forth in simple, unambiguous style together with suitable verses written by mystics and himself. Accordingly he had named the work as *Ḥasanāt-ul-'Ārifīn*, so that it may serve as argument and proof for the true men of Path and put a check on the vicious tongue of the accusors.[2]

His Flings at his Opponents.

It follows from the above statement that by this time Dārā Shikūh had considerably perturbed the ostrichlike complacency of the orthodox school. His liberal and out-spoken pronouncements on religious matters were not much appreciated by the latter, who held the divine monopoly to interpret and speak on religion, and being devoid of enlightenment and broadened outlook grew startled at the princely encroachment on their sacred right. Their inward feelings, naturally, took the shape of a cautious but vehement denunciation of his ideals. Dārā Shikūh was well aware of this ever-growing suspicion and distrust and viewed with apprehension the utter misrepresentation of his spiritual and religious ambitions. So he took his line of defence by the compilation of the sayings of saints who held similar or even stronger views on such matters than himself. When asked as to his own sayings on account of his close association with the saints to be included in the *Ḥasanāt-ul-'Ārifīn*, he remarked, "My aphorisms?

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[1] *Ḥasanāt-ul-'Ārifīn*, Mujtabā'ī Press, Delhi, 1309 A.H. p. 2.

[2] *Ibid.*

All these sayings are mine for they are in accordance with the greatest of all aphorisms—the Truth."[3]

Even this retort to his opponents did not satisfy him and often he gave expression to his views in most vehement language. The Mullā is a common theme of derision in his writings. Apart from the orthodox political clique, who denounced him as an unbeliever and an atheist, he was not pleased with the ever-chaffing Mullā, whom he considered as hypocritical and quarrelous. So he says:

> "Paradise is there where no Mullā exists—
> Where the noise of his discussions and debate is not heard.
>
> May the world become free from the noise of Mullā,
> And none should pay any heed to his *fatwas*!
>
> In the city where a Mullā resides,
> No wise man ever stays."[4]

Or,

> "To him who drank the cup of Unity,
> The town's ascetics appear as asses."[5]

And again:

> "All this piety of theirs is conceit and hypocrisy,
> How can it be worthy of our Beloved?"[6]

In the *Ḥasanāt-ul-'Ārifīn* as in his other works he often gives expression to his estimate of the *Ulema*. "As a matter of fact," he remarks, "these '*Ulema*' are ignoramuses to themselves and learned to the ignorant. To this effect I have said in the following quatrain:

> "What disavowals did the Satan hurl on Adam?

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[3] *Ibid*. p. 36.

چون بعضی طالبانِ حق خواهش نمودند که بجهت موافقتِ این گروه، داراشکوه شطحی از خود هم داخل این
رساله نماید، گفتم شطحِ من اینست که اینهمه شطحات من است

[4] *J.R.A.S.B.*, Vol. V, No. I, p. 168.

[5] *Ibid*.

[6] *Ibid*.

> Said Ḥusain (Manṣūr Ḥallāj), 'I am the Truth,'
> and got the gallows.
>
> Every prophet and saint suffered afflictions and torments,
> Due to the vicious and ignominous conduct of the Mullā".[7]

This tract, is in fact a supplement to the *Safīnat-ul-Awliyā'* which records biographical notices on saints and mystics. It has been published at the Mujtabā'ī Press Delhi (1309 A.H.), copies of which edition are scarce and an Urdu lithographed translation appeared in two editions at Lahore without date. MS. copies are also available in various Indian libraries.

Its Contents.

The sayings and aphorisms of 107 saints and mystics of diverse religious orders are recorded in the S͟haṭḥiyāt, including those of the Prophet (p. 3) and the Imāms (p. 4-5); Ibrāhīm Adham (p. 5); Ma'rūf Kark͟hī (p. 6); Abū Yazīd (p. 8); Sahl bin 'Abdullāh Tus͟htrī (p. 9); Abū Sa'īd Abdul K͟hair (p. 10); Sayyed-uṭ-Ṭā'ifa Junaid (p. 13); S͟haik͟h Rūyān (p. 14); Abū Bakr Wāsṭi (p. 15); Ḥusain bin Manṣūr al-Ḥallāj (p. 18); Abū Bakr S͟hiblī (p. 19); Abū 'Abdullāh K͟hafīf (p. 23); S͟haik͟h-ul-Islām 'Abdullāh Anṣārī (p. 26); Nūr-ud-Dīn 'Abdur Raḥmān Jāmī (p. 28); Imām G͟hazālī (p. 27); 'Abdul Qādir Jīlāni (p. 28); Ibn al-'Arabī (p. 31); Najm-ud-Dīn Rāzī (p. 33); Mu'in-ud-Dīn C͟his͟hti (p. 34); Niẓām-ud-Dīn Dehlawī (p. 34); Jalāl-ud-Dīn Rūmī (p. 35); S͟haik͟h 'Irāqī (p. 36); S͟hāh Qāsim-ul-Anwār (p. 38); Kabīr (p. 43); Bābā Lāl Dās Bairāgī (p. 44); Bābā Piāre (p. 44) etc. etc.

The verses and quatrains of many poets and mystics are also quoted in the treatise. These include those of Dārā S͟hikūh (pp. 2, 7, 13, 15, 18, 21, 23, 26, 27, 31, 32 34, 38, 44, 45, 50, 53, 54, 57, 58, and 64.); Jāmī (pp. 12 26-7 and 41); Ḥāfiẓ (p. 17); Mullā S͟hāh (p. 22, 58 and 60); Abū Sa'id Abul K͟hair (p. 25); Sa'ad-ud-Dīn Hamwī (p. 33); Jalāl-ud-Dīn Rūmī (p. 35); S͟haik͟h Abdullāh Ballyāni (p. 34); S͟haik͟h As͟hraf-ud-Dīn Panīpati alias Bū 'Ali Qalandar (p. 35); S͟hams-ud-Dīn Muhammad Kesh (p. 36); 'Irāqī (p. 36); Awḥad-ud-Dīn Kirmāni (p. 36); S͟haik͟h Mahmud Jastri (p. 37); S͟haik͟h Mag͟hrabi (p. 37); S͟haik͟h Qāsim-ul-Anwār (p. 38); K͟hwāja Aḥrār (p. 39); S͟haik͟h Saḥābī (p. 42); S͟haik͟h Ḥusain (p. 48) and others.

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[7] *Ḥasanāt-ul-'Ārifīn*, p. 18

Personal allusions are given in abundance by Dārā S͟hikūh, in the elucidation of aphorisms of various saints in conjunction with his own views :—

(1). "S͟haik͟h 'Abdullāh Anṣārī remarks," he writes, "that he had pronounced his views on more sublime doctrines than al-Ḥallāj. While the latter confined Truth to his own individual self, he visualised all as Truth. To this effect, I have said in the following quatrain :

"Never would a gnostic attribute God-head to his own self;
Never would he suffer separation from the Sublime Self.
For, to be a slave is to become a master :
Since All is He; (the gnostic) would not act in vanity."

(2). " S͟haik͟h Abū Ṣāliḥ Damis͟hqī said, that Unity of God can be attained through uniformity of conception and not by knowledge. To speak about it is not so difficult as to become it. I have remaked to this effect :

"Dost thou wish to enter the circle of men of sight and illumination?
Then cease talking and be in the "state",
By uttering the formulae of God's Unity, thou canst
not become a monotheist—
The tongue cannot taste sugar by only professing its name."

(3). While recording the aphorisms of Ḥaḍrat Bārī, whom he calls as " one of my teachers, unrivalled in the practice of resignation, detachment and unification," he remarks that he had served him for a number of years and had constantly persisted in knowing his name. To this he always declined and replied that all names were his names for, the *faqīrs* had no names. To this effect he (Dārā S͟hikūh) had said in the following quatrain:

> "Never have I found a single atom separate from the sun,
> Every drop is in itself the ocean.
> With what name can one invoke God?
> Whatever name exists, is His name."

Some of the reminiscences of the saint who died in 1062 A.H., are obviously the outcome of an incredulous animation on the part of the prince, but his narrative, nonetheless, is graphic and vivid.

" Once I enquired of him," he says, " to whom do you owe spiritual allegiance?"

" To my own self," he rejoined.

" 'What order of the saints is yours?' I persisted.

" 'My own.' He replied.

"He never addressed anyone except myself in the masculine gender," he continues, " to others he always applied the faminine gender. I discerned its cause. He recognised none as man except those whom he deemed as God-knowing 'Ārifs. He neither took food nor slept, nor he kept any followers and attendants. Once I ventured to enquire whether he had sought knowledge from anyone. To this he retorted that he had killed both the mullā and the pandit, from whom then should he seek knowledge? Whenever I took his leave to depart, I always wept. He always remarked that though he cherished great love, affection and regard for me, he could never attach himself to such bonds. He was ever in the full knowledge of my affairs and often warned me beforehand of the coming events. His heart ever throbbed with noble sentiments......whatever passed in my mind he told me about it. Once, while I was in his service at mid-night, I recollected my spiritual teacher S͟haik͟h

Mīr (Mīāṇ Mīr). He drew near and kissed my forehead and remarked that my fortune would not rise above than that. He then got up, paced a few steps and reappeared in the form of my spiritual teacher! After a while, he sat down and assumed his own shape. I knew that he had discerned what had passed in my mind at the moment...........

" One of his miracles was that even wild beasts, birds, the mineral and the vegetable worlds conversed with him! ....

"Once I sought his advice on some matter. His reply made an everlasting impression on my mind. At the time we were quite alone, as none ever accompanied me while I went to visit him. My horse, tethered to the branch of a tree, all of a sudden, began to speak and confirmed his statement! He smiled and remarked that my own horse affirmed to what he had said. . . . .

One night a glow-worm soared high in the air. I pointed it out to him. He recited a verse in Hindi, whose purport was to this effect: "Thou art a spark of the flame of mine love." He then raised his hand and down came the insect and perched on his hand.

One day a few women of a village, where he had sojourned in his youth, were in attendance. I was also present. He asked me whether I had taken care of them and had protected them. I replied that I did not know who they were. He told me that those women were my tenants, who laboured and cultivated the land, which brought revenue to the royal treasury . . . . So I should ever be ready to look to their needs . . . . .

"Twelve days before his death, he told me that he could suffer the earth's burden, but the latter would not be able to carry his load. He also instructed me to look to his burial . . . . . He died on the 15th of Rabi‘-ul-Awwal, 1062 A.H., and attained eternal salvation, being laid to rest in the village Barcha (?), in the environments of pargana Bārī . . . . To this effect I have referred to in the following quatrain :—

"Men of heart are not aggrieved at Death's approach :
A wakeful mind fears not slumber.
If thy soul cast away the body, what does it matter?
When the skin wears out, the snake casts it away!"

CHAPTER V

THE ṬARĪQAT-UL-ḤAQĪQAT

The *Ṭarīqat-ul-Ḥaqīqat*, a small treatise, lucid and concise on the manifold stages and states of the spiritual path, is less known but is a work of considerable value. It lay unnoticed for a time under the name of *Risāla'i Ma'ārif*. No date is given of its composition nor does it contain any preface. It was published in 1857 A.D. in three small booklets, at Brij Lal Press Gujranwala, but hardly any copy of this is available now. The text of this edition differs materially from a MS. copy of the same in the Government Public Library Lahore, under the title of *Risā'il-i-Taṣawwuf*. Many other MSS. include a number of rehtorical subjective discourses on mystic doctrines, mostly of fragmentary character. An Urdu lithograph translation of the text which is not much different from that of the Gujranwala edition, was published at Lahore in 1341 A. H.

The Prologue

The *Ṭarīqat-ul-Ḥaqīqat* written in mixed prose and poetry, is largely expository in character, emotional rather than philosophical and can easily be included in the first category of Dārā Shikūh's writings. It contains 36 pages written in mystical language full of numerous *rubā'is*, *baits* and verses. It opens with a prologue containing an eulogy on God's Omnipotance followed by a short discourse on the incompetence of human efforts to comprehend His all-prevading powers, for, "the hands of human intelligence and wisdom cannot reach the pinnacle of His glory :

Imagination hath no foot-hold on this Path:
Thought cannot exercise its faculties on its ways.
O, woe betide! much intervenes 'twixt a drop and the ocean,
How odd! out of madness thou desireth the difficult."

Another line of thought is that "All is He". In the Ka'ba and Somnat—everywhere, Christian chaples, idolatrous temples and mosques He resides:

"Thou dwelleth in Ka'ba and Somnat,
And in the enamoured lovers' heart;
Thou art the rose and also the amorous nightingale,
Thou art the moth on Thine own beauty's taper."

Continuing in this strain at some length, he sums up in the following verses:

Thou hast set the taverns in commotion:
The *Sāqi* and the drinking bouts ensue with great enthusiasm.
In the temple thou causest the bells to chime—
The idol, the temple as also the religious hypocrisy.
In the *Ka'ba* people pray unto Thee
And desire Thy union.
The manifest and the hidden, all emenate from Thee,
As also the drop and the ocean.
Oft Thou sendeth Thine lovers to the gallows,
Oft Thou unveileth Thine face to a Moses at the Sanā'ī ....

The author's aim in compiling the *Ṭarīqat* is given briefly in these words: "After the praises and eulogium of the Lord of the faith and universe, may it be clear on the munificient mind of men of light and the illuminating wisdom of the gnostics that when the angel of truth and absolute guide reflected in the mirror of my imagination, all these words full of meditative mysteries, I had no other way but to set them in writing, thus making them manifest in the field of manifestation. I named this tract *Ṭarīqat-ul-Ḥaqīqat*, with the hope, that the far-sighted men of faith would accord to it their approval and acceptance.

Style and Subject-matter.

The *Ṭarīqat-ul-Ḥaqīqat* lacks uniformity of thought and conception. It deals at random with diverse mystical stages in the 'Ārif's path. Unlike other works of Dārā Shikūh, its style is ornate and flowery, at places thought subservient to an exquisite flow of introspective strain.

Its tone is didactic and emotional throughout, which appeals to our mind rather than to our intellect. Neither does it contain any extraordinary enunciation of experimental or doctrinal mysticism as in the *Risāla'i Ḥaq Nūmā'*. Its only charm, perhaps, is the undercurrent of an unbounded sincerity and conviction, which runs beneath the surface of his own religious experience. The subjective religious experiences of the author are abundant and indicate " the extent of spiritual perfection gained and further aspiration for the limitless Unknown."

Its contents

The whole work is interspersed with numerous quatrains, verses and poems, which lend an additional charm to the much rehtorical narrative. It contains 32 *rubā'iyāt*, 123 *abiyāt* and many *fards*. The tract itself is divided into 30 sections, each of which is called a *manzil* or stage in the path of the 'Ārif.

(1) *First Manzil*: On the value of human detachment in this "flimsy, materialistic world"; on existence and non-existence and the relative value of both. "The world is a mirage, it will not quench thy thirst." The following verses are a keynote of the ideas expresed :

از سراب دہر سیرابی مجواہ   بگذر از تحصیل آں رہ، داہ مخواہ
اینکہ می بینی نہ بحر است و نہ آب   تشنۂ ہرگز نشد زو کامیاب
بہرۂ زیں بحر کے یابی مگر،   تفتہ دل باشی و ہم خونیں جگر
آتش است ایں بحرہا آتش مگو   قطرۂ آبی ازیں جودہ مجو
تشنۂ گر رو بہ بحر ذات آر،   قطرۂ دریاب و کامِ دل برآر
ہر کہ او زیں بحر آبے یافتہ   روئی از کون و مکاں برتافتہ
آبِ ایں سرچشمہ عُمانی بود،
زندہ سازد مُردہ را جانی بود

(2) *Second Manzil*: On the abstinence of ignorance and the acquisition of knowledge, for which the value of time as an "eternal felicity" is an essential factor.

(3) *Third Manzil*: On the purity of mind and "keeping mind's mirror clean from the rust of hallucination of why and wherefore and maintaining the fountain-head of heart, from which originate boundless oceans, clear from the mushroom overgrowth of worldly ambitions."

(4) *Fourth Manzil*: On the effacement of life and renunciation of consciousness and the realisation of true self.

(5) *Fifth Manzil*: On the ways of the men of path.

(6) *Sixth Manzil*: On the contemplation of *Hū hū ant hū*.

(7) *Seventh Manzil*: On the correctitude of belief, which constitutes the foundation of sincerity, love and fidelity.

(8) *Eighth Manzil*: On the virtues of sincerity, which is an eternal fortune, immune from the vissicitudes of time.

(9) *Ninth Manzil*: On resignation " whose threshold lies above the planes of imagination and fancy."

(10) *Tenth Manzil*: On the virtues of submission to Divine Will, which necessiates complete surrender to God. The importance of this stage is emphasised thus in the ornate style: " This is a stage where doubt, misgivings and hypocrisy are superfluos. It is like a flower without thorns, a wine free from cropsickness, a garden teeming with roses and anemones, a tavern of ecstasy and delight, a town whose people are endowed with light and illumination, a taper in the darkened night, a candle burning in the secret chamber of the Unknown . . . . ."

(11) *Eleventh Manzil*: On steadfastedness in the path of Divine love.

(12) *Twelveth Manzil*: On Contemplation.

(13) *Thirteenth Manzil*: On the spiritual experiences of the gnostics—a " state " full of enlightenment.

(14) *Fourteenth Manzil*: On singlemindedness of devotion. Multi-colouredness involves the mind in a state of distraction. "From Ka'ba to temple and *vice versa* does not help in the realisation of spiritual aspirations. At this stage concentration of mind is an essential factor. The outward symbols of places of meditation—temple and monastry as also rosary and sacred thread, are all superficial and of no practical value :

> From Ka'ba and temple emanates naught,
> Why stigmatize both?
> For the Lord resides not therein.
> Always near the men of vision;
> Ever visible and unconcealed. Look!

(15). *Fifteenth Manzil*: On the description of part and whole (*Juz-o-kul*). The human existence rests on the phenomenon of cause and effect. The waves of the ocean originate from the ocean; none exists without the other. Both are inseparable. Similarly a drop embodies the ocean itself and the waves formed of numerous drops, "carry within their embrace the very "Ummān."

(16) *Sixteenth Manzil*: On the "state" of the mystics.

(17) *Seventeenth Manzil*: On the submergence of the individual self in the Universal self. The annihilation of all except Allāh involves the least consciousness of self-annihilation.

(18) *Eighteenth Manzil*: On the secret of human existence.

(19) *Nineteenth Manzil*: On detachment (*Tajrīd*).

(20) *Twentieth Manzil*: On annihilation and subsistence (*baqā-o-fanā*).

(21) *Twenty-first Manzil*: On Fixity (*tamkīn*).

(22) *Twenty-second Manzil*: On the outward and inward rectitude (*istiqāmat*).

(23) *Twenty-third Manzil*: On the Sālik.

(24) *Twenty-fourth Manzil*: On the conversion of minds (*munqalab-ul-qalub*). "I have read many books," he says "which guide and enlighten the intellect, but I could not find my way from form to spirit and from the exoteric to the esoteric. Somehow I could not grasp the idea that the spirit revolves within the form. For a long time I could not fathom the truth and realise my object. Till at last I was directed towards the path of mind; when I traversed upon this path I found it most illuminating. It is like a record whose very words and substance is clear and intelligible. For days I clarified and polished my ideas with concentration and diffusiveness...........and I became full of ecstatic pleasure, detached myself from people and selected seclusion. Then I lost self-consciousness . . . .

> "Renounce all talks of argumentation and discussion,
> Be above the enslavement of faith and infidelity;
> Your mind is the seat of the Lord and the abode of the Divine—
> Why not ascend this throne and become a Sultan?"

(25). *Twenty-fifth Manzil*: On the renunciation of fundamentals. " When I had cut myself adrift from imaginative flights and elusive thoughts, I visualised a world, which is ocean within ocean, surface within surface, illumination within illumination, enlightenment within enlightenment and manifestation within manifestation . . . ."

(26) *Twenty-sixth* Manzil: On the discussion beween Reason (*'Aql*) and Insanity (*Junún*). This section is very interesting. "To-day Reason and Insanity fell out in an odd argument with each other.

" 'Come we should recreate,' said Reason to Insanity.

"The latter disinclined and said, 'Show me the desolation.'

"However Reason tried to persuade Insanity to come towards wisdom, the latter always sought infamy; the former walked ever on the path of gain, but the latter chose that of loss. Reason aspired ever for glory and fortune, Insanity ever talked of lowliness and humility; the former ever displayed an aptitude for pleasure but the latter showed an inclination towards affliction. Reason always thought of wife and children but Insanity ever strolled in the world of non-existence and annihilation; the former ever sought seclusion but the latter tore asunder the veil of concealment.

"Reason's ultimate goal seamed to be the Lord's abode, while Insanity sat busy ringing bells in the temple of idolatary; the former meditated on the *D͟hikr*, but the latter wore the sacred thread (*zunnār*); the former took the rosary in its hands but the latter soothed the ringlets of sweet-heart's tresses. Gradually Reason lost hold on its own self and Insanity raised its head out of madness. It entered the forest of annihilation and ceased all argumentations on how and why. So Reason lost its former lustre:

> "This day self-consciousness dawned upon me!
> I am enchanted. How does it come to pass?
> For enlightenment's sake I kept my torch alight—
> Reason was driven out and Insanity stepped in."

"Reason embodied perfect existence while Insanity represented the extremity of non-existence . . . . . There is no comparison between the two. One cannot be contained in the other; one is drop while the other is ocean. When the waves of Insanity's ocean surge, the vital force of Reason's storm subsides. It concludes with the following verses which are best given in the original:—

خرد را با جنوں اندیشہ لنگ است   قبائی عقل بر دیوانہ تنگ است
بخود صحبت دریغا اینچہ ننگ است   کہ دانش را جنوں کام نہنگ است

(27) *Twenty-seventh Manzil*: On the cup-bearers of the Eternal Circle.

(28) *Twenty-eighth Manzil*: On the Path's journey.

(29) *Twenty-ninth Manzil*: On desisting from speech and the indulgence in fanciful imaginations.

(30) *Thirtieth Manzil*: An *apologia* for attempting to write the treaties which also shows that, ' Divine knowledge for him was the life of heart through Divinity and the diversion of inner thoughts from all that does not identify with him. Both the cognitional and emotional gnosis rest on the adaptability of human soul to the worldly and spiritual environments.''

CHAPTER VI

THE RISALA'I ḤAQ NUMĀ'

The *Risāla'i Ḥaq Numā'* a small tract containing the gist of Ṣūfistic practices, chiefly physical exercises practiced by various religious orders, and the different stages of human consciousness in the four planes of existence, according to the following quatrain of the author, was completed in the year 1056 A.H. (1646 A.D.)[1]:

> "This tract was completed
> In the year one thousand and fifty-six.
> It is not the work of *Qādirī* (*Dārā Shikūh*) but of the *Qādir* (Absolute one)—,
> Whatever we have set forth (therein), understand and peace be on thee!"

It also discusses the various means and ways of attaining spiritual perfection through gradual stages—of Grace and Action. The former consists in acquiring the discipleship of a spiritual guide, who can awaken the seeker from the slumber of worldliness and indifference, and make him free from the snare of egoism and show to him the face of the True Beloved; while the latter is a matter of exertion and austerity which ultimately leads the seeker to visualise the True Beloved.

The *Risāla* has been lithographed twice at the Nawal Kishore Press Lucknow, the second edition of which bears the date 1883 A.D. MS. copies of it are abundant in Indian libraries, and an excellent abridged English translation by Rai Bahadur Sarish Chander Vasu, the well-known Sanskrit scholar, was published by the Pāṇini Office Allahabad in 1912.

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[1] این رساله حق نما باشد تمام   در هزار و پنجه و شش شد تمام
هست از قادر نه از قادری   انچه ما گفتم فافهم والسلام

Qādirī order: line of succession.

The tract was written, as appears from the preface, after Dārā Shikūh's formal initiation into *Qādirī* order. After describing his close association with the saints and "having known one by one the different stages of separation (*tajrīd*) and detachment (*tafrīd*), and the subtleties of gnosticism (*'irfān*) and unification (*tawḥīd*)," on the night of Friday, the 8th of Rajab, 1055 A.H., he received a "Divine Injunction that of all the religious orders, the *Qādirī* was the best." The *Qādirī* order, he observes traces its origin to the Blessed Prophet; from him it descended to Shāh Muḥayī-ud-Dīn 'Abdul Qādir Jīlānī and from him in right succession it came to Muḥayī-ud-Dīn II, the *Pīr-i-Dastgīr*, and from him to Shaikh Mīāṇ Mīr and from him to his spiritual guide (Mullā) Shāh, and from him in right succession to him (Dārā Shikūh).

The augury from the *Qur'ān*.

On that night of Divine Injunction, observes Dārā Shikūh, he was commanded to write this tract "for the help and guidance of those who were in the search of the Truth." And since it was his way to name every work of his after taking an augury from the holy *Qur'ān* and obey the Divine Injunction, he took up the *Qur'ān* and this verse came before him: *And certainly, We gave to Moses the Book after We had destroyed the former generations; clear argument for men and a guidance and a mercy that they may be mindful.*[2]

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[2] Chapt. XXVIII, 43.

وَلَقَدْ آتَيْنَا مُوسَى الْكِتَابَ مِنْ بَعْدِ مَا أَهْلَكْنَا الْقُرُونَ الْأُولَى بَصَائِرَ لِلنَّاسِ وَهُدًى
وَرَحْمَةً لَعَلَّهُمْ يَتَذَكَّرُونَ ۔

And since the meaning of this verse were identical with the ideas which he had in view, he named this tract as the *Risāla'i Ḥaq Numā'*. Quatrain:

> Dost thou wish thy heart become a garden through Divine Union?
> (Then) throw thyself in the quest of the Beloved.
>
> It (the *Risāla*) is like the compass (*qibla-numā'*) pointing towards the Mecca:
> From the *Haq Numā'*, the Truth would drawn upon thee![3]

Sources of the *Risāla*.

Dārā Shikūh claims no originality in presenting the doctrines embodied in the work. He says that all the teaching found scattered in various ancient and modern works was too voluminous for the study of ordinary man, and that his tract is a compendium of standard works on Ṣūfism, *viz*., the *Futūḥāt* (*al-Makki*, by Muḥayi-ud-Dīn Ibn al-'Arabī, d. A.H. 638); the *Fuṣūṣ* (*al-Ḥikam*, by Ibn al-'Arabī); the (*Risāla'i*) *Sawāniḥ* (by Aḥmad al-Ghazālī of Ṭūs, A.H. 517); *the Lawā'iḥ* (*dar bayān-i-ma'āni o ma'ārif*, by Jāmī A.H. 898); the *Lawāmi'* (*Anwār-al-Kashf*, by Jāmī A.H. 875.) and the *Lama'āt* (*al-Anwār*, by Fakhr-ud-Dīn 'Irāqī, A.H. 686), besides other works on the subject. Quatrain:

> If thou dost not know in detail the essence of the Law (*Shara'*),
> If thou dost not observe the treasure of the Demonstrations:
>
> He is One and in both the worlds there is none except Him—
> This is the truth as found in the *Futuḥāt* and the *Fuṣūṣ*.

How far he has utilised the works of others.

It is, however, difficult to ascertain, how far Dārā Shikūh has utilised the works of Jāmī, Ibn al-'Arabī and 'Irāqī. His knowledge seems to be very superficial both in respect of *al-Futuḥāt* and *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam*; it is more probable that the former work, which he claims to have used extensively, might be the *Futuḥāt al-Ghaib* of 'Abdul Qādir Jīlānī or a Persian translation of it. Iraqī's *Lama'āt al-Anwār* or rather a commentary on it by Jāmī entitled the *Asha'a'i Lama'āt* seems to have been very poorly used. The source of information with regard to *Ashghāl*, detailed in the *Risāla* appear a jumbling of the mystical experiences of various *Qādirī* saints with whom he was associated, though he asserts: "It must be known that whatever is written in this tract, is exactly without a hair's difference, the record of the practices, meditations, methods of sitting, moving and acting adopted by the holy Prophet."

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[3] رباعی :
خواهی که دلت ز وصل گردد گلشن   خود را تو به جستجوی دلبر افگن
زان قبله‌نما چو قبله دری یابند   دریاب ز حق‌نمای حق را روشن

The *Risāla* is divided into four *faṣls* on the description of the four planes of existence, followed by two supplementary *faṣls* which deal with Divine Essence:

Faṣl I. On the Physical World (*Dar bayān-i-'Ālam i-Nāsūt*).

Faṣl II. On the Astro-Mental World (*Dar bayān-i-'Ālam-i-Malakūt*).

Faṣl III. On the World of Bliss (*Dar bayān-i-'Ālam-i-Jabrūt*).

Faṣl IV. On the World of Divinity (*Dar bayān-i-'Ālam-i-Lāhūt*).

Faṣls V and VI. On Divine Essence (*Dar bayān-i-Huwīyyat*).

Style and language.

The language employed in the *Risāla* is mystical, more often interspersed with verses and quatrains, the latter mostly of his own composition. A personal touch is given in the enunciation of different physical exercises and the neophyte is generally addressed as *yār* or 'friend,' for, he observes, "in the system of occultists, the pupils are not called as such, but the word friend "denotes the seeker of God. Even the Prophet used to call his followers by the words of companion and friend." The object of the tract is to describe devotional practices to attain Divine communion which according to him, came down from the holy Prophet, and "since they were revealed to some few and well-chosen disciples and not preached publicly, therefore they are not well known in the exoteric faith of Islam." A series of mystic practices called *Ashghāl* are described as the means towards the casting off the grossness of Physical life and to prepare the inner soul for a transcendental state. No elaborate *Qādirī ashghāl* are however, given; only simple forms of meditations are recounted.

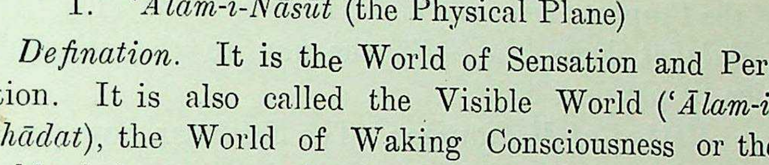
Leanings towards pantheistic doctrines prevade the whole work.

SĀLIK'S JOURNEY THROUGH THE FOUR WORLDS

I. *'Ālam-i-Nāsūt* (the Physical Plane)

Defination. It is the World of Sensation and Perception. It is also called the Visible World (*'Ālam-i-Shahādat*), the World of Waking Consciousness or the World of Awareness. In it the existence reaches its highest point and the enjoyment is the deepest and most vivid.

Method of Meditation: *First* requisite is perfect solitude and peace of mind. *Second* requisite is the fixation of the eyes on the figure of his spiritual master. *Third* requisite is concentration on the *Heart* and its three centres of meditation:



Concentration must begin first on the Cedar Heart and gradually brought to bear upon the Lily Heart. The result would be the visualisation of thought-forms and the ultimate entry into the Plane of Counterparts (*'Ālam-i-*

Mithāl, which lies midway between the Physical Plane and the Astro-mental Plane.

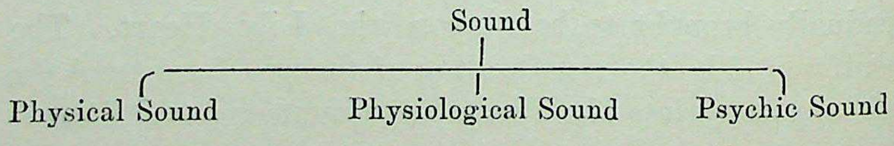
II. *'Ālam-i-Malakūt* (the Astro-mental Plane).

Definition: It is variously called as the *'Ālam-i-Arwāḥ* or the World of Spirits, the *'Ālam-i-Ghiab* or the Invisible World, the *'Ālam-i-Laṭīf* or the Subtle World and the *'Ālam-i-Khwāb* or the World of Dreams.

Characteristics of the Plane: This Plane is higher than the *'Ālam-i-Mithāl*, in which thought-forms acquire a shape which is " the soul of the form and is not a body." The *Sālik's* soul takes up a refined body and he wanders in the Astro-mental Plane both conscious and unware of his surroundings He meets the master on this higher plane who leads him to the holy Prophet, the Companions of the Prophet and saints and friends of God. The *'Ālam-i-Malakūt* shows (the *Sālik*) the way to the etherialisation of physical body.

Method of Meditation: The *Sālik* can now perform miracles but he should "not entangle himself into the World of Spirits " or "desire phenomena, clairvoyance and miracles." The methods of meditation for him are : (1) the recitation of the names of God mentally and orally; (2) the practice of astral-healing; (3) the *Ḥabs-i-Dam* or regulation of breath including the exercise called the *Āward-Burd* and (4) the *Sulṭān-ul-Adhkār*.

Effects of Meditation: (1) Sleep becomes unnecessary and the *Sālik*, (like Mīāṇ Mīr) can even do without it for 30 years; (2) the physical body of flesh and blood loses its coarser particles and acquires a more refined form; (3) a strange bouyancy of spirit and subtle illumination overpowers him; and (4) hears Internal Sounds—the Voice of Silence or the Cosmic Sound :



The process of hearing sounds culminates in the *Sulṭān-ul-Adhkār*, the practice of which makes audible the Psychic Sound which is "boundless, infinate, self-existent and of unlimited immensity. When it is once heard, "everything else is forgotten."

III. *'Ālam-i-Jabrūt* (the Plane of Bliss).

Defination: It is called the Casual Plane (*'Ālam-i-Lāzim*) the Plane of No-breath (*'Ālam-i-benafas*), the Plane of Unity and Satisfaction (*'Ālam-i-Aḥdiyat wa Tawkīn*). It is a misnomer to call it the World of Names and Attributes (*'Ālam-i-Isma' wa Ṣifāt*). A person is said to be in the *Jabrūt* when "he is without pain and sorrow"—and "when in the state of consciousness, no forms whether of the Physical or Astro-mental Planes, cross his mind." Then the man is in the Plane of Bliss.

Characteristics: The difference between him who is consciously in the *Jabrūt* and the one who is unconscious therein is as follows: The former enters into this plane whenever he wishes and with his own free will, for whether he is in sleep or is awake, he can enter the *Jabrūt* at any time; while the latter enters the plane only when he goes to sound dreamless sleep and that also not voluntarily but of necessity.

Method of Meditation: All the limbs of the body should be at perfect rest and kept away from every kind of motion; both the eyes must be closed. The right plam should be placed on the left and the heart should be emptied of all forms of physical and super-physical planes. Sitting quiet and at ease, no form must rise before his physical or inner vision. Thus when he can sit without any thought or thought-forms, he has got victory over the plane.

IV. *'Ālam-i-Lāhūt* (the Plane of Absolute Truth).

Defination: It is also called the Plane of He-ness (*'Ālam-i-Huwiyya*), the Plane of Essence (*'Ālam-i-Dhāt*), the Plane of No colour (*'Ālam-i-berang*) etc.

Characteristics: This plane is the origin of the three lower planes of *Nāsūt*, *Malakūt* and *Jabrūt*. It envelops them all; all the other planes merge into it and come out of it. It remains uniform in its essential nature and no alteration or modification takes place in it.

Effects. When the eternal good fortune (of the *Sālik*) makes him enter this plane, he shall part company with ordinary (self) consciousness.

CHAPTER VII

THE DĪWĀN AND THE QUATRAINS OF DĀRĀ SHIKŪH

هزار و بیست غزل گفت قادری در عشق   گرچه سود که کس منتبه نمی گردد

"On Love-Qādirī wrote a thousand and twenty lyrics,
But of what use? None takes warning!"

Dārā Shikūh.

The Extant MS. copy of the Dīwān of Dārā Shikūh.

The *Dīwān* of Dārā Shikūh, hitherto known as the *Iksīr-i-A'ẓam* and till recently considered as non-existent or lost, has been fortunately restored by Khān Bahādur Ẓafar Ḥasan.[1] Prior to the discovery of his *Dīwān*, Dārā Shikūh's extant poetical compositions consisted only of a few fragmentary verses in various Tadhkiras, and a number of quatrains scattered in some of his works, *viz.*, the *Sakīnat-ul-Awliyā'*, the *Ḥasanāt-ul-'Ārifīn* and the *Risāla'i-Ḥaq Numā'*. It is, however, odd that of all the works of the prince, only his *Dīwān* should have been thrown into oblivion by posterity, which has otherwise preserved a dozen of his other works in their entirety; nor can it be safely assumed that his political opponents, particularly the Ulema, would have deliberately singled out his poetical utterances as the embodiment of heresy and apostasy, while leaving his more objectionable works (from their point of view) like the *Majma'-ul-Baḥrain* and the *Sirr-i-Akbar*, to circulate unhampered. But now that the *Dīwān* or at least a part of it is available to us, we can judge this unusual phenomenon of the hitherto obscure *Dīwān* in its true perspective.

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[1] The following details of the MS. copy of the *Dīwān* of Dārā Shikūh have been supplied by the Khān Bahādur in the *J.R.A.S.B.*, Vol. V., No. 1. (1939). It contains 133 Ghazals and 28 Rubā'iyāt foll. 48., 6½ × 4 written in Shikasta script on Kashmiri paper. The MS. is worm-eaten and incomplete, some of the folios in the middle are wanting. The writing is old (17th century) and, having lost its sheen, is undecipherable. The first and the last folios are intact and contain, respectively, an endorsement and a colophon. The former reads:

دیوان داراشکوه بادشاه زاده، قادری تخلص

And the latter:

تمت تمام شد کار من نظام شد دیوان داراشکوه

So far as is known, this is the only extant MS. of the *Diwān* which has survived the ravages of time, with the exception, perhaps, of another copy of the same, said to be in the possession of Mr. Bahādur Singh Singhī, 48, Gariahat Road, Calcutta. This copy was exhibited by the owner at one of the ordinary meetings of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, and later, though I was permitted by the owner to examine it at leisure, I could not do so, in spite of my best efforts.

The *Dīwān* of Dārā Shikūh, as it is, is very little known and still unpublished.

Accounts of various *Tadhkiras* about his poetical accomplishments.

The appeal of lyrical poetry is psychologically emotional or intellectual, and it is seldom that a poet of real merit gains recognition from posterity on any other basis. Unless the poet has a super-graceful style, both in thought and expression, even his deft representation of ethical and moral subjects in a Ghazal fails to create an atmosphere harmonious with the spirit of the time. The predominant theme of Dārā Shikūh's verse, as we shall presently find, revolves on things which had very little subjective appeal, and even if it had been otherwise, his extremely prosaic elaboration of pantheistic thought would hardly have earned him a creditable place in the memoirs of contemporary Tadhkira-writers. Mullā Shāh, his spiritual guide and preceptor, in a letter to Dārā Shikūh, admits that the latter is endowed with real poetical gifts and describes his verses as "incomparable and heart-pleasing."[2] The author of the *Khazinat-ul-*

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[2] *Sakīnat-ul Awliyā'*, p. 144: "All the excellences are under the subjugation of an 'Ārif, and this is well established that you are in possession of some degree of harmoniousness," he writes

Āṣfiyā (wr. 1280 A.H.) observes that Dārā Shikūh had written excellent Ghazals and that his *Dīwān* entitled the *Iksīr-i-A'ẓam* was compiled during his lifetime. He claims to have perused a copy of it and remarks: "His poetry is like the ocean of Unitarianism, flowing out of his pearl-scattering tongue; or, like the sun of Monotheism, rising from the horizon in the manner of his luminous opening verse (Maṭla'). Intelligence is necessary to comprehend his poetry, and instinctive aptitude is essential to grasp its meaning."[3] Afḍal-ud-Dīn Sarkhush sums up his poetical merits in this manner: "Muḥammed Dārā Shikūh, styled Shāh-i-Buland-Iqbāl, the heir-apparent to the Emperor Shāh Jahān, was a prince of good disposition, fine imagination, and handsome appearance. He had a forbearing temperament, led the life of a mystic, was a friend of the saints, and was a monotheist and a philosopher. He possessed a noble mind and a far-reaching intelligence. He has expressed Sufistic views in quatrains and Ghazals, and in view of his adherence to the Qādirī order adopted the *nom de plume* of Qādirī. A small *Dīwān* of his verses has been compiled."[4]

As to the first statement, the endorsement of the fly-leaf of the *Dīwān* and Maqṭa' of each one of his Ghazals, together with many signed specimens of his name prove

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to the prince, "What shall I say of your incomparable and heart-pleasing verse? What sweet fruits cannot be borne by this pure clay!"

[3] Vol. I, p. 175:—

سخنش دریائی توحید است که از زبان گوهرافشان او روان گشته، و یا خورشید وحدانیت است که از افق بسان مطلع انوارش طلوع گشته، مغزی باید که سخنش را بفهمد و دمی باید که معانی آن در وی امکان پذیرد۔

[4] *Kalamāt-ush-Shu'ara*:—

محمد دارا شکوه شاه بلند اقبال ولی عهد پادشاه شاهجهان طبع بلند و ذهن رسا داشت ... مطالب صوفیه در رباعی و غزل منظوم می کرد و بحسب اعتقادی که بسلسله قادریه داشت قادری تخلص می کرد ......

beyond any doubt that he had adopted the pen-name of Qādirī; but as regards the name of his *Dīwān* being *Iksīr-i-A'ẓam*, there is probably no other evidence except that of the *Khazīnat-ul-Āṣfiyā*, a work compiled about 200 years after the death of the prince. The colophon, as well as the endorsement in the MS. noticed by Khān Bahādur Ẓafar Ḥasan, simply calls it *Dīwān-i-Dārā Shikūh*.

Dārā Shikūh's interest in classical Persian Literature.

But apart from the meagre information concerning his accomplishments as a poet gleaned from one or two Tadhkiras, Dārā Shikūh seems to have been very well-read in classical Persian literature. His intense love for poetry is borne out by the fact that in his works he has admired, respected, and quoted profusely from a large number of poets, *viz.*, Rūmī, Jāmī, Sanā'ī, Niẓāmī, 'Aṭṭār, Abū Sa'īd Abu'l-Khair, Khusrau, Ghazālī, Ibn al-'Arabī, Kamāl Khujandī, Shams-i-Tabriz, Ḥāfiẓ, Sa'dī, Aḥmad Jām, 'Irāqī, Khāqānī, and a host of others. The number of such quotations from the works of eminent Persian (chiefly mystic) poets in the *Safīnat-ul-Awliyā'* is 34, and the verses and quatrains of various poets and mystics both in the *Ḥasanāt-ul-'Ārifīn* and the *Risāla'i Ḥaq Numā'* amount to 41. Considering also the large number of standard works on Sufism, philosophy, history, and biography, which he has utilised as the basis of his three biographical memoirs,[5] one cannot but come to the conclusion that, to a very considerable extent, he remained in touch with Persian literature. Rūmī, Jāmī, and Sanā'ī seem to be his favourite poets. With some of the views of Sanā'ī he disagreed at first, but later came to the conclusion that most of his heterodox verses were spurious. Jāmī, he observes,[6] he had respected and revered like his own teacher and guide, and adds that both in prose and poetry he has written in imitation of him. Thus we find that his *Safīnat-ul-Awliyā'* is nothing but a prototype of Jāmī's *Nafaḥāt-ul-Uns*, and his treatise on Ṣūfism, *Ṭarīqat-ul-Ḥaqīqat*, though much inferior in depth and sublimity of thought when compared with Jāmī's *Lawā'iḥ*,[7] is nevertheless modelled on the latter; so close is the imitation in style and the arrangement of sections that Dārā Shikūh's *Thirty Stages* appear as a counterpart of Jāmī's '*Thirty Flashes*.' Rūmī's philosophy had a special appeal for him and he seems to be deeply interested in his ethical deductions, so much so that nearly three-fourths of the metrical portion of the *Ṭarīqat-ul-Ḥaqīqat* consists of quotations from the *Mathnawī'i Ma'nawi*, the remaining one-fourth being verses of Jāmī, Sa'dī and Khusrau. In the *Mathnawī* literature, on the whole, he seems to be extremely well-read, and it is recorded that he once presented a copy of Niẓāmī's *Khamsa* to Muḥammad Ḥakīm Jauharī of Tabrīz. This MS. is still preserved in the India Office Library.[8]

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[5] For details *vide* the *Visva-Bharati Quarterly*, Santiniketan (Vol. V., part III., p. 275-290; Vol. V., part V, p. 265-375; Vol. VI, part I, p. 67-78; Vol. VI, part pp. 134-146 and Vol. VI, part IV, p. 331-345, where the writer has contributed a series of articles on the subject.

Dārā Shikūh's literary activities, as is evident from his works, covered a wide field. Like many cultured

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[6] *Safīnat-ul-Awliyā'*, fol. 143*b*.

و فقیر همیشه تصانیف نثر و نظم ایشان (ملّا جامی) را مطالعه می نماید و از برکت کلام حقیقت فائده ها می
رباید - این کتاب (سفینة الاولیا) را که می نویسد همه از تتبع و شاگردی ایشان است۔

(MS. in the Punjab University Library)

[7] Cf. *Lawā'iḥ* of Jāmī, ed. by Whinfield and Kazvini, *R.A.S.* 1928.

[8] *Vide*. Ethé's *Catalogue of Persian MSS. in the India Office*, Vol. I., No. 980. According to the colophon of this MS. the date of the presentation is the 12th of Ramaḍān, A.H. 1061 (August, 29 A.D. 1651).,

Dārā Shikūh : A Patron of Poets.

Mughal princes, he extended his generous patronage to many poets and scholars. It is, however, difficult to ascertain the exact number of his *protégés*. *Mira'āt-ul-Khayāl* mentions[9] that among other poets Mirza Raḍī Dānish (d. 1076 A.H./1665 A.D.) was the most favoured by him, so much so, that on hearing the following ghazal of the poet, the prince gave him a reward of rupees 1,00,000 :

موسمی آن شد کہ ابرے تر چمن پرور شود   نکہت گل مایۂ شور جنون در سر شود
تاک را سیراب ساز اے ابر نیساں در بہار   قطرۂ تا مے تواند شد چرا گوہر شود
نالہ بلبل نہاں در پردۂ برگ گل است   بیدماغم کاش از ایں یک پردہ نازک تر شود
ما بذوق گریۂ ہستی در این بزم آمدیم   مے بدہ ساقی بقدری آن کہ چشم تر شود
راز پوشیدن نیاید دانش از بیتاب عشق   در میان انجمن پروانہ خاکستر شود

Another poet whom Dārā Shikūh favoured greatly was his chief secretary, Chandar Bhān Brahman."[10a] It is recorded[11] that once the prince asked the latter to recite in the presence of Shāh Jahān the following verse which he himself admired :

مرا دلیست بکفر آشنا کہ چندیں بار   بہ کعبہ بردم و بازش برہمن آوردم

So greatly is my heart associated with infidelity, that many a time
When I took it to Mecca, it returned a Brahman

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[9] Calcutta, p. 258.

[10] Cf. Dārā Shikūh :

سلطنت سہل است خود را آشنائے فقر کن   قطرہ تا دریا تواند شد چرا گوہر شود؟

[10a] For his life and works, *Vide*. *The Muslim Review*, Vol. III, No. 3, p. 41.

[11] *Mira'āt-ul-Khayāl*, p. 214.

The Emperor was enraged at the audacity of the non-Muslim poet, but Afḍal Khān pacified him by quoting the following verse of Sa'dī:

خرِ عیسیٰ اگر بہ مکّہ رود   چوں بیاید ہنوز خر باشد

Christ's ass, even if it were to go on pilgrimage to Mecca,
An ass it would remain on its return!

Even this incomplete *Dīwān* of Dārā Shikūh is a rare find, for the religious, moral, and ethical views of a poet can only be brought into living contact with his time by a critical study of his poetical compositions. More often, the *Dīwān* of a poet furnishes a better insight to his subconscious mind than the coloured narratives of the Tadhkira-writers, who are, more or less, swayed by personal likings or dislikings. In this respect, the *Dīwān* and the quatrains (scattered in his works) provide for us a more solid background for a proper estimate of the literary achievements of the prince.

Dārā Shikūh's poetry consists chiefly of two inter-related elements—Ṣūfism and Qādirism; an undercurrent of a didactic and ethical note, an echo of his association with saints and his intimate knowledge of the Persian literature on mysticism, runs through his Ghazals and Rubā'iyāt. But his doctrinal mysticism is neither intellectual nor meditative; it is intensively intuitive, anti-scholastic, and pantheistic in the extreme. In most of his quatrains, he has invariably tried to expatiate upon the Ṣūfic aphorisms, and as a natural consequence of this dilation upon the views expressed by other mystics, his mystic thought lacks spontaneity and individuality—a factor, which has tended to create a shallow moral or intellectual atmosphere in his verse. From a purely literary point of view, his style is prosaic in the extreme, and it is rarely that, in a Ghazal, a verse or two give

General features of his Poetry.

a flash of real poetic imagination. Generally, his Ghazal lacks the lyrical touch, poetic emotionalism and a graceful sublimity both in thought and expression. A didactic theme expressed in matter-of-fact language is unsuitable for the Persian Ghazal, and in the description of Love and Beauty as represented in their transcendent forms, he has drifted helplessly back to effete and colourless Persianisms.

His quatrains, with their rugged language and unpolished expression, show little fertility of imagination, and in style or thought can hardly approach the marked individuality of those of the eminent Persian poets like Abū Sa‘īd Abu’l Khair, Shaikh ‘Abdullāh Anṣārī, and ‘Umar Khayyām. The high value of most of these, which I have collected from his works, is somewhat dimmed by the fact that they represent only a versified expression of the sayings of various saints rather than Dārā Shikūh’s own views. The truth of this statement is borne out by the following analytical table:

Quatrain No.	Subject	Source
I	All is He (*Hama Ust*).	Shaikh Farīd (d. 1062 A H.)
IV	The seeker of Divine Communion is above all religions.	Shaikh ‘Abbās bin Yūsuf ash-Shaklī.
XXXII	Gnostics do not follow the lead given by others.	Shaikh Abū Ma‘līn Maghribi.
V	The Symbol of Tawḥīd is even forgetfulness of Tawḥīd.	Shaikh Abul ‘Abbās.
VII	Condemnation of Self is association with God.	Shaikh Abū Bakr al-Wāṣitī,
XVI	The ignorance of those who remember God is greater than the ignorance of the commonalty.	Shaikh Abū Bakr al-Wāṣitī.
IX	‘Everything is the Truth’ is greater than ‘I am the Truth.’	Shaikh-ul-Islām ‘Abdullāh Anṣārī.
XIX	Consubstantiality (‘Ainiyat) and not knowledge (‘Ilm) leads to the attainment of Unity.	Abī Ṣāliḥ Damishqī.
XXXI	The Ulema of the present age are in reality ignoramuses in their own eyes but learned in the eyes of the ignoramuses.	Imām al-Ghazālī

Quatrain No.	Subject	Source
XXX	All things are capable of perceiving the Divinity.	Ibn al-'s Arabī.
VI	The Beloved is ever visible to the eye ; He is not an object for contemplation or visualisation. He is the 'Ainiyat.	Mullā Sa'd-ud-Dīn Kāshgharī.
XII	Even association with the Truth constitutes polytheism (shirk).	Sayyed-ut-Ṭāī'la Junaid.
XXIV	Worship of God, if it becomes public, falsifies itself.	Shaikh Abū Madīn Maghribī.
XXVII	'He who knoweth himself knoweth his Lord.'	Shaikh 'Abdullāh Balyānī.
XXVIII	Mysticism? It is even considering forgetfulness as the existence of God.	Shaikh 'Abū Abdullāh Khafīf.
XI	'A candle illuminates a thousand candles.'	Bābā Lāl.
XXII	Pronouncing the name of God is done through ignorance.	Mullā Khwāja (a pupil of Miān Mīr).
XIV	'The bubble when it bursts becomes the very ocean.'	Bābā Piyāri.
XXIX	'Men of heart do not fear Death's approach.'	Shaikh Farīd.

Some heterodox verses.

These versifications of Ṣūfic aphorisms, nonetheless, indicate his leanings towards pantheistic thought. In his *Dīwān*, he is fond of giving voice to heterodox ideas and his poetic imagination transcends the limits imposed by religious convention. This he does by the employment of a pun on the word Qādirī (Dārā Shikūh) and Qādir (God):

1

قادری گشت قادرِ مطلق   از پی هر فنا کمال بقاست

Qādirī (Dārā Shikūh) become the Almighty:
In the wake of every annihilation lies the perfection of subsistence.

2

قادری زود عین قادر شد   چون مدد کرد قادر بغداد

When the Qādir of Baghdād (Shaikh 'Abdul Qādir) helped him,
Qādirī (Dārā Shikūh) became the very God (Qādir)!

3

قادری را ز قدرت کامل   قادر ذوالجلال ساز دمی

With Your perfect Providence make Qādirī (Dārā Shikūh)
For a while, powerful and glorified.

4

And a similar pun on the word *Dārā*:

چون بدارائی خویش دل به سپرد   قادری نیز عین دارا شد

When he delivered his heart to his Lord (Dārā),
Qādirī also became the very God (Dārā)!

And this quatrain and the verses that follow give a contrary view:

Though I do not think myself separate from Him,
Yet I do not consider myself God;
Whatever relation the drop bears to the ocean,
That I hold true in my belief and nothing beyond.

Quatrain xiii.

5

قادری نیست جز قادر   وحده لا اله الا هو

O, Qādirī! there is none except God (Qādir)—
He is one and there is no God but He.

6

هر سو که نظر کنی همه اوست   وجه الله عیانست رو برو را

Look where you can, All is He:
God's face is ever face to face!

7

متوجه مشو بغیر خدا   رشته هست سبحهٔ و زُنّار

Turn to none except God,
The rosary and sacred thread are means to an end (connecting link),

8

هرچه بینی جز او این وهم تو است   غیر او دارد وجودی چون سراب
بحر لا محدود ذات واحد است   ما و تو چون نقش و چون موج بر آب

Whatever thou beholdest except Him, is the object of thy fancy;
Things other than He have their existence like a mirage.
The existence of God is like a boundless ocean—
Men are like forms and waves in its water.

Condemnation of self-conceit of pseudo-ascetic.

The hypocrisy and self-conceit of the pseudo-mystic and ignorant Mullā is a common theme for the cynical flings of a poet. Here are some verses of Dārā Shikūh:

1

بهشت آن جا که ملائی نباشد   ز ملا شور و غوغائی نباشد
جهان خالی شود از شور ملا   ز فتوی هاش پروائی نباشد
در آن شهری که ملا خانه دارد   در آنجا هیچ دانائی نباشد

Paradise is there where no Mullā abides,
Where there is no argument and tumult with him.

May the world become free from the noise of the Mullā!
May no one pay heed to his Fatwās!

In the city where a Mullā resides,
No wise man is ever found.

And this quatrain:

2

What disavowals did Satan hurl at Adam?
Said Ḥusain (Manṣūr Ḥallāj): "(I am) the Truth" and got the gallows.

Every prophet and saint suffered torments,
Due to the vicious and ignominious conduct of the Mullā.

Quatrain xxxi

3

هر که می در جام وحدت درگرفت   زاهدان شهر را چون خر گرفت

He who drank from the cup of Unity,
Regarded the city's ascetics as asses.

4

جمله عجب و ریاست این تقوی   کے بود لائق نگار ما؟

All this piety is conceit and hypocrisy,
How can it be worthy of our Beloved?

5

چند بازی تو بر شریعت خود   احمد مرسل از خداست سوا؟

How long would you interpret your Law playfully
That Aḥmad, the Apostle, is different from God?

As was mentioned above, Qādirism and the eulogies of the saints of various orders form a special feature of Dārā Shikūh's poetry. The following Ghazal is typical of his views expressing the superiority of the Qādirī order:

Qādrism.

سلسلۂ زلف یار سلسلۂ ما بود   طالب آن روی را خوشتر ازین جا بود؟
هر که دل خویش را بست با این سلسله   هر دم و هر ساعتش کار ببالا بود
دست بدست آمده سلسله پیر ما   تا به قیامت همین سلسله ما بود
مظهر او شاه من بهتر اهل زمان   ذات عزیزش بیقین ذات معلا بود
دست در این سلسله هر که زند قلب او   نرم شود همچو موم گرچه او خارا بود
سلسلۂ قادریست آن که بحکم خدا   بر همه قادر بود تا همه دنیا بود

Many Qādirī saints are the subject of his praise: in one of his Ghazals, he describes Shaikh 'Abdul Qādir

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[12] *Sakīnat-ul-Awliyā'*, Lahore lithograph, p. 18-19.

Jīlānī as the "Shelter of Mankind," "a guide to the highway to the religion of Aḥmad" (Peace be on him!); and of himself, he observes: "How can I call myself his disciple? I am a dog at his threshold." In many other Ghazals he has shown his devotion to saints like Shaikh Bahā'-ud-Dīn Suhrawardī of Multan, Mullā Shāh, Mīāṇ Mīr and many places associated with them. Of Kashmir, where his teacher Mullā Shāh resided, he says: 'When my spiritual guide is my lord and master, my Ka'ba is the blessed Kashmir.'[13] Of the Punjab, Lahore, and Dārāpur (?) he is enamoured, for Mīān Mīr lived and died there. He says:

عشق پنجابم نموده بے قرار　　زانکه نقش دوست در پنجاب هست
کعبهٔ من حضرت لاهور داں　　سجدهٔ من سوئی آں محراب هست
قادری را کعبه دارا پور شد　　کاندراں بسیار فتح الباب هست

There are also numerous verses in praise of the holy Prophet (Peace be on him!), the four caliphs, and men of saintly orders.

Realisation of the Unity.

In the complete realisation of the Unity, spiritual oneness with the Truth is even unconsciousness of the Truth itself. "It is a realisation free from quest and beholding the Beloved, without even looking for Him, for the beholder is an obstacle in the vision of God." So says Dārā Shikūh:

"Sit for a while separate from Him,
Remain for a while Godless.
Verily, even association with the Truth constitutes polythesim
(*Shirk*),
Thou shouldst sit in complete recognition within thy own self.
Quatrain xii.

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[13] چوں خدا و صاحب من پیر است　　کعبهٔ من حضرت کشمیر است

The highest attainment for human existence is spiritual advancement. Poverty is better than material prosperity :

1

سلطنت سهل خود را آشنائی فقر کن   قطره تا دریا تواند شد چرا گوهر شود؟

Kingship is easy, acquaint thyself with poverty:
Why should a drop become a pearl when it can transform itself into an ocean?[14]

2

بادشاهی را گذار ای دوست آگاهی گزین   چون به آگاهی رسیدی هرچه می خواهی گزین

3

دست زر آلود بدبو می شود   جان زر آلود را احوال چیست
روز و شب گوشت به مرگ مردم است   مر ترا مردن بود این حال چیست

Hands soiled with gold begin to stink,
How (bad) would be the plight of soul soiled with gold!
Day and night thou hearest of people's death,
Thou hast also to die, how strange is this behaviour!

The following Ghazals are excellent specimens of his didactic tone:

مسافر

مسافر هر قدر باشد سبکسار   نیابد در سفر تصدیع و آزار
تو هم اندر جهان هستی مسافر   یقین می دان اگر هستی تو هشیار

بقدر مال باشد سرگرانی   بقدر پیچ باشد بارِ دستار [15]
خودی را نیز از سر دور گردان   که هم بار است بارِ وهم و پندار
تو تا باشی به دنیا باش آزاد   ترا چون قادری کرده خبردار

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[14] *Makhzan-ul-Gharā'ib*, O. P. Library, 682.

[15] *Tadhkira'i Sarkhush* reads this line: ز وزن زر فزاید بار دستار

TRAVELLER

The more a traveller is unencumbered,
The less he feels worried and anxious in his journey.

Thou, too, art a traveller in this world,
Take this as certain, if thou art wakeful.

One's dissatisfaction corresponds to his riches—
Heavier is the turban with a large number of folds.

Drive egoism away from you, for,
Like conceit and arrogance's load, it is also a burden.

So long as you live in this world, be independent:
Qādirī has forewarned you!

2

انسان الکامل

آدمی قدر خویش می دانی؟　　که توئی گنج سرّ پنهانی

دست و پای تو نقش الله است　　چون ید الله را نمی خوانی

خلق آدم بود بصورتِ حق　　زان خلیفه شدی و سلطانی

دل تو عرش و کرسی و لوح است　　کاندران هست علم ربّانی

روح خود در دمید اندر تو　　زان ترا سجده کرد روطانی

هم محمد توئی و هم الله　　این عنایت تراست ارزانی

قادری قادری......(؟)　　پای تا سر تمام جانانی

THE PERFECT MAN

O Man, dost thou know thy own worth,
That thou art the treasure of the hidden secret?

Thy form (hands and feet) hath God's imprint on it,
Why dost thou not say that (the) hand of Allāh (is above thy hand)?

Adam was created in the form of the Almighty,
Hence thou becomest a Caliph or a Sultan.

Thy mind is the 'Throne,' the 'Footstool' and the 'Tablet'
For it is the reservoir of Divine Knowledge.

His own Spirit He hath breathed into thee,
The angels, therefore, bowed unto thee.

Thou art Muhammad and God too (*sic*!)
This favour hath been bestowed upon thee in abundance.

Qādirī, Qādirī......................(?)
Thou hast transformed thyself completely into thy Beloved.

3

شناخت خود

هر که این را شناخت گو را برد   هر که خود را باخت او را برد
هر که پای خمی گرفت و نشست   ساقی و باده و سبو را برد
وان که زین سر نیافت آگاهی   رفت و در خاک آرزو را برد
وان که در خویشتن نجست او را   رفت و با خویش جستجو را برد
قادری یار خویش در خود یافت   خود نکو بود کان نکو را برد

REALISATION OF THE SELF

Whosoever recognised this, carried the day,
He who lost himself, found Him.

He who sat at the foot of the wine jar,
Won over the Sāqī, the wine and the cup.

And he who sought him not within his own self,
Passed away, carrying his quest along with him.

And he who knew not this secret,
When turned to dust, carried his desire unfulfilled.

Qādirī found his Beloved within his own self:
Himself of good disposition, he won (the favour of) the Good.

SELECTED VERSES

(۱) عاشق یار خویش جمله جهان   اے خوش آنکس که یار عاشق اوست
(۲) یار بسیار بود بازیگر   قادری را ببرد در بازی
(۳) از عشق جذبهٔ خواه ای اے قادری کآخر   هستیٔ تو برآرد هستیٔ او نماید
(۴) ترک زنار کرده ام زان رو   تار وحدت نبود در زنار
(۵) قادری دید تا ترا در کل   صلح کل کرده از عناد گذشت
(۶) تا خودی هست دائم اندوه است   این چنین کرده اوستاد ارشاد
(۷) راز خود را به غیر دل تو مگوی   راز داری بغیر دل نبود
(۸) هر خمی پیچی که شد از تاب زلف یار شد   دام شد، تسبیح شد، زنجیر شد، زنار شد
(۹) با دوست رسیدیم چو از خویش گذشتیم   از خویش گذشتن چه مبارک سفری بود!

II.

QUATRAINS

Now we place before the readers some specimens of the Quatrains of Dārā Shikūh, collected for the first time from the works of the author and translated into English.

In the case of each Rubā'ī, the source is given in the footnote. In no case is a quatrain of doubtful origin included in this collection; in order to establish the authenticity beyond any doubt, wherever it has been possible, a reference to the original context is also indicated in the footnote.

Abbreviations used for the different editions of MSS. of the works of the author are as follows:—

H.M.	*Ḥasanāt-ul-'Ārifīn,*	Mujtabā'ī edition.
HLU.	,, ,,	Lahore Urdu lithograph.
HPA.	,, ,,	MS. (No. PC IV 5) in the Arabic Section of Punjab University library.
SL.	*Sakīnat-ul-Awliyā',*	Lahore Urdu lithograph.
RHNA.	*Risālā'i Ḥaq Numā',*	Panini Office, Allahabad.
RHNL.	,, ,,	Lucknow edition.
MB.	*Majma'-ul-Baḥrain,*	Bib. Ind.
IJB.	*Iksīr-i-A'ẓam,*	(Selections in the *J.R.A.S.B.*, Vol. V., No. 1. 1939).

i

یک ذرّه ندیدیم ز خورشید جدا   هر قطرهٔ آب هست عین دریا
حق را بچه نام کس بتواند خواندن؟   هر نام که هست، هست از اسماء خدا [1]

We have not seen an atom separate from the Sun,
Every drop of water is the sea in itself.
With what name should one call the Truth?
—Every name that exists is one of God's names.

ii

آنانکه خدا در آن زمان می بینند   اوّل تو بدان، در این جهان می بینند [2]
دیدار خدا در این و آن یکسان است   هر لحظه به ظاهر و نهان می بینند

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[1] *Ḥasanāt-ul-'Ārifīn* (Mujtabā'ī Press, Delhi), p. 30:
چندین سال خدمت ایشان (شیخ فرید) کردم و هرچند نام ایشان را پرسیدم نام خود را نگفته۔ فرمودند که همه نامها نام منست و فقیر را نامی نمی باشد
اندرین معنی گفته ام: رباعی:

[2] *Sakīnat-ul-Awliyā'*. (Urdu lithograph, Lahore), p. 61.

Those who visualise God in the hereafter,
Thou shouldst know, first behold Him in this world.
The Vision of God is uniform in both the worlds—
Every moment they behold Him in the open and in secret.

iii

تسبیح بمن عجب در آمد بزبان! گفته که مرا چرا کنی سرگردان؟
گردل به عوض همی بگردانی تو دانی که برائی چیست خلق النسان 3

The rosary spoke to me in a strange tongue!
It said, "Why dost thou make my head reel?
"Wert thou to attend (revolve) to thine own heart instead,
Thou wouldst know the object underlying man's creation."

iv

کافر گفتی تو از پی آزارم این حرف ترا راست همی پندارم
پستی و بلندی همه شد هموارم من مذهب هفتاد و دو ملّت دارم 4

To revile me thou hast termed me an "infidel."
I, too, consider thy talk as true,
Disgrace (Declivity) and glory (ascent) have become alike
to me—
My religion is that of the two and seventy sects (of Islām).

v

توحید خموشی است و فکر است مدام بحث آمد و شد ز دست توحید تمام
یک گفتن تو عین دوئی ثابت کرد توحید رود ز نقطه چون گیری نام 5

In silence and meditation consists the Unity of God;
Discussion entails the departure of Unity.

---

[3] *Sakīnat-ul-Awliyā'*, p. 53.

[4] HM., p. 14:

عباس بن یوسف الشکلی قدس سره گوید هر که خدا مشغولست از ایمان او نباید پرسید واندر این معنی گفته ام

HPA. (fol. 31*b*) reads line 2: این حرف ترا دوست نمی پندارم

[5] HM., p. 11: شیخ ابوالعباس قدس سره گفت: علامت حقیقت توحید فراموش کردن توحید است

اندر این معنی گفته ام:

HPA. (fol. 25*a*) reads line 2: عارف فارغ آمد زگفتار وکلام line 1, omits'.

HLU., p. 18 reads line 3; یک گفتن تو بین قوی ثابت کرد.

When thou sayest: (God is) One; duality is clearly established:
The Unity of God goes off the point when thou proclaimest it.

vi

او در نظر است رو بهر چیز کنی   کوری، تو چرا بخویش تجویز کنی
6 حق گفت چو اینما تولوا با تو   باید که نظر بسوی خود نیز کنی

To whatsoever object thou mayest turn thy face, He is in view:
Art thou blind, for why dost thou assign Him to thyself?
Since God hath said: "*In whatever direction thou mayest turn.*"
It is incumbent on thee to turn thine eyes upon thine own self.

vii

از اصل حقیقت چو خبردار شدی   در حضرت حق محرم اسرار شدی
7 چون فاعل خیر و شر خدا را دیدی   دیدی گنه از خویش و گنهگار شدی

When thou knowest the reality of the Truth,
Thou wilt know the secrets in the August Presence.
Since thou hast seen God as the doer of both good and evil,
Thou hast seen thine own sins and turned into a sinner.

viii

هرچند که نیست سایه از ذات خدا   لیکن نبود سایهٔ شه غیر نما
8 دانم چو بگویند مرا سایهٔ حق،   ترسم که ازین دوئی بد آید حق را

Although there is no shadow of God's essence
Yet (the title of king as) Shadow of God does not show anyone else.

---

[6] HM., p. 21; HPA (fol. 52a)

شیخ ملا سعد الدین کاشغری قدس سره گفت حاضر باشید یاران

که یار عین بعین است یعنی مشاهده و معاینه نیست عینیت است و اندر این معنی گفته ام:

Line I: *Qur'ān I*, 109): "*To whosoever ye turn, there is the face of Allāh.*"

[7] HPA., (fol. 19*b*):

واسطی گوید هر که نفس خود را ملامت کرد با خدا شریک گرفت و اندر این معنی گفته ام: رباعی

HM., p. 11., line 2: نه باره بدان همه که هشیار شدی HPA., line 4:. omitted.

[8] IJB., p. 171.

I know this, when they call me "the Shadow of God";
But I fear that this duality may not find favour with God.

xi

عارف بخود اطلاق خدائی نکند   از ذات لطیف خود جدائی نکند
گر بنده کسی بود، خدا او باشد   چون جمله خداست خود نمائی نکند [9]

Never would a Gnostic attribute Godhead to his own self,
Never would he suffer separation from the Subtle Self.
For to become a slave is to become a master:
Since all is God he would not act in vanity.

x

ای آنکه خدائی را بجوئی هر جا   تو عین خدائی نه جدائی ز خدا
این جستن تو همین بآن می ماند   قطره بمیان آب و جوید دریا [10]

O, thou, who seekest God everywhere,
Thou verily art the God and not separate from Him.
Already in the midst of a boundless ocean,
Thy quest resembles the search of a drop for the ocean!

xi

عارف دل و جان تو مزیّن سازد   خاری که کند بجاش گلشن سازد
کامل همه را ز نقص بیرون آرد   یک شمع هزار شمع روشن سازد! [11]

The Gnostic endows you with illumination—body and soul,
A barren thorny mound he transforms into a rose garden.
The Perfect leads you out of the erroneous Path—
A candle illuminates a thousand candles!

---

[9] HM., p. 14; HLU. p. 26:

شیخ الاسلام فرمود که من بلند تر از ابن منصور میگویم، یعنی ابن منصور حق را محض در خود میدانست و من همه را حق می بینم. اندر این معنی گفته ام:

HPA., omits this quartrain.

[10] RHNA., p. 26-27.; RHNL., p. 30, line 1 بخدا. for زخدا

[11] HM., p. 25: .... مرشد چهارم مثل چراغ که آنرا مرشد کامل گویند که از یک چراغ صد هزار چراغ روشن شود. در این معنی گفته ام:

HLU., p. 44., HPA., (fol. 22 *ab*), line 2: بخاک. for بجاش.
also *Makhzan-ul-Gharā'ib* reads بپاش for بجاش.

xii

یک دم ازوی جدا بنشین تو   ساعتی بی خدا بنشین تو
شرک باحق نشستن است همه وقت   خود بخود آشنا بنشین تو 12

Sit for a while in separation from Him,
Remain for a while Godless.

Verily, even association with the Truth constitutes polytheism:
Thou shouldst sit in complete recognition with thy own self!

xiii

خویشتن را جدا نمی دانم   لیک خود را خدا نمی دانم
قطره را نسبتی که با بحر است   بیشتر زین روا نمی دانم 13

I do not think myself separate from Him;
Nevertheless, I do not consider myself God.

Whatever relation the drop bears to the ocean,
That I hold true in my belief and nothing beyond that.

xiv

بیرون و درون کوزه پر بود هوا   بپیچید درون کوزه آواز و صدا
کوزه بشکست و گشت آواز آواز   بشکست حباب و گشت عین دریا 14

The air filled the clay-pot, from within and without,
Sound and noise vibrated from within it.

When the clay-pot gets broken, the sound becomes the Psychic sound—
Like the bubble which bursts and becomes the very ocean.

---

[12] HM., p. 8:

سید الطائفه گفت تصوف آنست که ساعتی بنشینی بی تیمار. شیخ الاسلام گفت بی تیمار چه بود،
گفت یافت بی جستن و دیدار بی نگریستن که بیننده در دیدار علت است. رباعی:

[13] IJB., p. 159.

[14] H.M., p. 25: یعنی بر عارف اطلاق مردن جائز نبود چه بجانان پیوست آب آب شد و خاک خاک و هوا هوا و آتش آتش.

HMLU., p. 45. line 2: بپیچید درون کوزه وآواز وصدا

xv

کرده زیگانگی دوئی را تاراج   باید که کنی کجئ خود را تو علاج
واحد متکثّر نشود از اعداد   دریا متجزّی نشود از امواج! 15

He hath destroyed duality with Unity,
Thou shouldst treat thy blind perversity (if thou seest it not).

The Unity does not become manifold through numerousness:
As the waves do not cause the ocean to be split up into parts.

xvi

خوش گرچه بیاد خود نشستن همه وقت   این قید چه لازم است بر من همه وقت
غافل شدن خلق ز حق از حق است   خود را تعب است یاد کردن همه وقت 16

Pleasant though it is to sit ever in meditation,
Yet why should this limitation be ever indispensable to me?

Forgetfulness of God by men is ordained by God:
For me it is a torment to remember ever!

xvii

هرگز نکند آب حجاب اندر یخ   با آنکه کند نقش حباب اندر یخ
حق بحر حقیقت است و کونین درو   چون یخ بمیان آب و آب اندر یخ 17

The water can never veil the face of ice,
Though a bubble might form an impression within the ice;

The Truth is like the ocean of reality, wherein abide both the worlds,
Like the water within the ice and the ice within the water.

---

[15] RHNA., p. 25.

[16] HLU., p. 15; HM. p. 10; HPA. fol. 18*b*.:

وی (ابوبکر واسطی) فرمود که غفلت ذاکران از عوام الناس بیشتر است یعنی ذاکران بسبب اسم و ذکر از مذکور غافل گشته اند و غفلت عوام یاد نکردن حقیقت خود را در این معنی گفته ام:

[17] RHNA., p. 23.

xviii

هیچ کسی مرا نباید سنجید   من زانچه گفته ام نباید رنجید
هرچند که چار بچّه زاید بلبل   بلبل بچهٔ کلان به بلبل گردید! [18]

None should evaluate me (by my sayings),
Nor should anyone take offence at what I have said.

Although the nightingale produces four young ones,
The first-born turns out to be a nightingale.

xix

خواهی که شوی داخل ارباب نظر؟   از قال به حال بایدت کرد گذر
از گفتن توحید موحّد نشوی   شیرین نشود دهان ز نام شکر [19]

Dost thou wish to enter the circle of men of illumination?
Then cease talking and be in the "state";

By professing the Unity of God, thou canst not become a monotheist,
As the tongue cannot taste sugar by only uttering its name.

xx

نیست بی چاره هیچ کار درست   نیست چیزی چو چار یار درست
بهر بختی منی همی باید   پایهٔ چار استوار درست [20]

No work is accomplished thoroughly without (Divine) help,
Nothing is as perfect as the four Companions of the Prophet;

The necessary requisites for my fortune
Are the four pillars, strong and sound.

---

[18] IJB., p. 171. This quatrain, expressing Dārā Shikūh's conception of his superiority over his brothers is strange indeed!

[19] HM., p. 16.:

ابو صالح (دمشقی) گفته توحید را از عینیّت درمیتوان یافت نه از روی علم۔ یعنی گفتن چیزی دیگراست و شدن چیزی دیگر و اندر این معنی گفته ام:

HPA., (fol. 36*b*). line 4: زبان for دهان

[20] IJB., p. 167.

xxi

گویم سخنی ز روی تحقیق و صواب   گر مرد رهی، قبول کن، روی متاب
هرگز نبود صفات برذات حجاب   کی نقش بر آب مانعی ست از مس آب 21

In certainty and for thy benefit I tell thee—
If thou art a man of the Path, accept it and turn not thy face away:
Attributes can never conceal the Essence,
How can the figure on water stand in the way of its being touched?

xxii

هستی و وجود خودم کردم رد   گردید مساویم همه نیک و بد
اکنون نتوان نام خود و نامش برد   گر نام بگیرم ز من او می رنجد 22

My life and existence, I have discarded,
Goodness and evil have become all alike to me:
Now I cannot utter my name or His name,
If I chose any name, He would be displeased with me.

xxiii

توحید بگویم ار بفهمی به ادا   موجود نبود هیچ گاه غیر خدا
آنها که تو می بینی و می دانی غیر   در ذات یکیست و در نام جدا 23

I tell thee the secret of Tawḥīd, if thou wert to understand it aright,
Nowhere exists anything but God,
All you see or know other than Him
Is separate in name, but in essence one with God.

---

[21] RHNA., p. 25.

[22] HM., p. 28:

ملا خواجه کر از مریدان شیخ میر است نقل کرد ...... دوم، الله گفتن در وقت مردن
از نقص است یعنی نام گرفتن و ذکر کردن از غفلت است. در این معنی گفته ام:

HM., line 1: هستی وجود خویش for هستی و وجود خودم of HPA. (fol. 165*b*).

[23] RHNA., p. 24.

xxiv

بے مرگ کجا نام تو گردد زنده؟   بی بنده کجاست صاحب زیبنده
از قید شد وجود مُطلق ظاهر   صاحب نبود اگر نباشد بنده! 24

Without death how can thy name live long?
Without the serf where stands the comely lord?

The relativity maketh the Absolute Self manifest:
Without a slave there would not be any master.

xxv

هرچند نقاب درمیان دارد یار   رویش خوش و خوب می نماید بسیار
چون عینک تو بود نقاب رُخ یار   عینک نکند به پیش چشم تو غبار! 25

Though the Beloved may have a veil intervening,
His face appears most pleasant and beautiful.

Since thy spectacles are the veil on the face of the Beloved,
(Beware) that it may not raise a cloud of mist before thine
eyes!

xxvi

دریاست وجود صرف ذات وهاب   ارواح و نقوش همچو نقش اندر آب
بحریست که موج می زند اندر خود   گه قطره، گه است موج، گاهیست حباب 26

Like an ocean is the essence of the Supreme Self,
Like forms in water are all souls and objects.

The ocean, heaving and stirring within,
Transforms itself into drops, waves, and bubbles.

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[24] HM., p. 18., HPA. (*fol.* 42*b*) :

ابو مومن گوید که عبادت را سِرّیست که اگر ظاهر شود باطل می گردد

یعنی همان سِرّ عبودیت ربوبیت است و اندراین معنی گفته ام:

[26] RHNA., p. 24.

[25] RHNA., p. 27.

xxvii

کی کار تو در شمار حق می آید؟   قلب تو در اعتبار حق می آید؟
باید که تو عین خویش دانی حق را   فانی شدنت چه کار حق می آید؟ 27

How can thy work gain approval from the Truth?
(How can) thy mind receive recognition at the hands of God?
Thou shouldst consider thy own self as the Truth,
Of what use is thy annihilation in the cause of the Truth?

xxviii

هرچند که خلق را گرفته کولی   غفلت شده است برهمه مستولی
مشغول بحق است بفهمد یا نه   هرکس که بهر چیز شده مشغولی 28

In what abundance may stupidity have gripped mankind
And heedlessness have overpowered them all:
Every one who is occupied with anything,
Whether he realises it or not, is occupied with the Truth.

xxix

از مرگ نباشد اهل دل را آزار   کز خواب نترسد چو بود دل بیدار
گر جان تو جسم را بینداخت چه شد؟   چون کهنه شود پوست بیندازد مار! 29

Men of heart are not agrieved at Death's approach,
For a wakeful mind fears not slumber;
If thy soul cast away the body, what does it matter?
When the skin wears out, the snake casts it away.

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[27] HM. p. 19:

شیخ عبدالله بلیانی قدس سره گفت پیغمبر صلی الله علیه وسلم فرمود۔ من عرف نفسه فقد
عرف ربه هرکه خود را شناخت خدا را شناخت و نفرموده که خود را فنا کرده خدا را یافت یعنی عرفان شناخت خود
است نه فنای خود۔ اندر این معنی گفته ام:

HPA., 9 (*fol.* 47*a*) Line 2: کی کار تو در شمار حق می آید

[28] HM., p. 14: شطح شیخ عبدالله خفیف رحمة الله علیه۔ از وی پرسیدند که تصوف چیست۔ گف
غفلت را بهم وجود الله دانستن۔ اندر این معنی گفته ام:

[29] HM., p. 32; نظم شیخ فرید..... و اندر این معنی گفته ام l. 2: وز for کز

xxx

توحید شناخت، هر کرا حالی نیست   در راه طلب همّت او عالی نیست
خوش آنکه میان خویش حق را بشناخت   او در همه جاست هیچ جا خالی نیست 30

He realizes the unity, who has no 'state'
Even in the path of quest, this intuition is not great.

Happy is he, who found Him within his own self,
—He is omnipresent, no place is without Him.

xxxi

زابلیس به بوالبشر چه انکار رسید   حق گفت حسین، بر سر دار رسید
از شومئ شر نفس ملایان است   با هر نبی و ولی که آزار رسید 31

What disavowals did Satan hurl at Adam?
Said Ḥusain (Manṣūr Ḥallāj) "(I am) the Truth," and got the gallows.

Every prophet and saint, who suffered affliction and torments,
(It was) due to the vicious and ignominious conduct of the Mullās.

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[30] HM., p. 10; HPA. (43*b*):

وشیخ (ابن العربی) فرماید که جمادات وحیوانات وانسان همه عارف اند واز آیهٔ کریمه
وان من شئ الا یسبح بحمده نیز مفهوم معلوم میشود که همه اشیا معرفت دارد واین سر بر غیر عارف ظاهر نیست واندر
این معنی گفته ام:

[31] *Ibid.* p. 18:

امام غزالی در راحت العلوم از بعضی عرفا نقل کرده می گفته که سبب پنهان شدن ابدال
از چشم اکثر مردم آنست که ابدال را طاقت دیدن علمای وقت نیست - برای آنکه این علما در نفس الامر جاهلان
اند نزد خود و نزد جاهلان علما اند واندر این معنی گفته ام:

HPA., (44*a*): lines 1 & 2 interchanged.

xxxii

هردم برسد بعارفان ذوق جدید   خود مجتهد اند نی ز اهل تقلید
شیران نخورند جز شکار خود را   روباه خورد فتادهٔ لحم قدید 32

Every moment, the Gnostics are recipients of new Love,—
They are leaders in themselves, not those who follow others
The lions would not partake of aught except what they have killed themselves:
The fox feeds upon the leavings of dry flesh!

xxxiii

هر کار که مشکل است درویش کند   مرهم بدمی نهد (؟) که او را ریش کند
واصل چو شود تصرفش افزاید   شمشیر برهنه کار را بیش کند 33

The Dervish performs every task that is difficult,
With his breath he applies balm, which injures him (?)
When he attains union with God, he wields powers more potent,
—An unsheathed sword is more effective in its work!

xxxiv

در هجر تو بوده اندوه و آزارم   از وصل تو رفت هستی و پندارم
شادی آمد نصیب جانم گردید   اکنون تن و جان خود به راحت دارم 34

In separation from thee, I have suffered pangs of anxiety,
In union with thee, I have lost my own consciousness:
Then happiness dawned upon my soul and became my lot,
Now shall I pass my days in peace, both in body and mind!

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[32] HM., p. 18:

پیش ابو مدین (مغربی) از اکابر صوفیه مذکور کردند. گفت ما قدید نمی خوریم و پیروی کسی کار نداریم و همیشه رزق ما تازه است و غذای ما لحم طری یعنی گوشت تازه. اندر این معنی گفته ام:

HPA., (42*a*) line 1: رزق جدید for ذوق جدید ; line 4: لحم و قدید for لحم قدید

[33] SL., p. 72 ; line : 3 چو واصل شود : linc 2: مرهم بدی کند که او را ریش کند (؟)

[34] SL., p. 117.

XXXV

ای که از نام توی بارد عشق   وز نامه و پیغام توئی بارد عشق
عاشق گردد هر که بکویت گذرد   آری ز در و بام توئی بارد عشق

O Thou, from whose very name raineth Love!
And from the epistle and message of Thine raineth Love!

Whosoever passeth by Thy street, realises
Indeed that from the very door to the terrace of Thine
(house) raineth Love!

CHAPTER VIII

DĀRĀ SHIKŪH AND FINE ARTS

"....few men have written like him (Dārā S̲h̲ikūh) in imitation of the style of Āqā 'Abdul Ras̲h̲īd."

— GHULAM 'ALI *Haft-Raqam* —
(Tad̲h̲kira'i K̲h̲us̲h̲nawīsān)

"....And I have acquired the kingdom of Calligraphy and the connoisseurs of Art have shown deference to it."

—DĀRĀ SHIKŪH—
(The Dibācha)

"What Koh-i-Nūr is to other eastern diamonds, surely, the richly bound volume (of the *Muraqqa'*) in wrought leather........... must be to any other volume of similar character."

— CECIL L. BURNS —
(On Dārā S̲h̲ikūh's *Muraqqa'*)

Indo-Persian Art under the Mughals.

The Mughal rulers were not only scholarly in habits but also possessed a very high aesthetic sense for the appreciation of Fine Arts. Notable calligraphists and painters formed a regular class in their court nobility, and most distinguished among them, often had a *manṣab* with pay. It was Akbar who introduced, in the sixteenth century, the Persian style of painting into India, and saw in the charms of pictorial Art " a peculiar means of recognising God." His direct patronage and personal encouragement of Indian artists of traditional religious style and Muslim painters of the Persian school, resulted in the most remarkable synthesis in the realm of fine arts, and later on, led to the growth of the Indo-Persian Art. Abul Faḍl gives a list of more than one hundred calligraphers and painters of the sixteenth century, among the latter, he adds,[1] seventeen "are considered as Masters of Art." Of these two are of outstanding nature—K̲h̲wāja 'Abdul Ṣamad *S̲h̲īrin-Qalam*, a native of S̲h̲īrāz and an accomplished calligrapher and painter, who attained the distinction of being enrolled to official nobility and later, became the Master of Mint and a Revenue Commissioner of a Province; the other was a Hindu court painter and a great favourite of Akbar, named Daswanth, about whom Abul Faḍl observes that "he surpassed all painters and ranked as first among the masters of the age."

During Akbar's time Calligraphy was also studied as an Art rather than a qualification of personal distinction and the court-calligraphers in the Imperial *Dār-ul-Ins̲h̲a* showed their remarkable skill in transcribing letters from the Emperor to foreign rulers and the *farmāns* and despatches to provincial governors. In the *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī* (Institute XXXIV), Abul Faḍl enumerates eight calligraphical systems as current during the 16th century in Iran, Turkistan, India and Turkey.[2] Akbar introduced miniature-painting on paper, which developed from the practice of illustrating manuscripts of important historical or literary works. These were, afterwards, collected in the form of Muraqqa's or Albums and kept as books of illustration in the royal library or in private collections of Mughal princes and nobles.

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[1] *Vide.* *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī* (Blochmann, I, p. 77). The seventeen artist are (1) Mīr Sayyid 'Ali, (2) K̲h̲wāja 'Abdul Ṣamad, (3) Farruk̲h̲ Qalmāk, (4) Miskīn, (5) Daswanth, (6) Basāwan, (7) Kes̲h̲ū, (8) Lāl, (9) Mukand, (10) Jagannāth, (11) Mādhū (12) Mahes̲h̲, (13) Khemkaran, (14) Tārā, (15) Sāṇwala, (16) Haribans and (17) Rām. For deails of their life, extra works which have survived and have been reproduced, *Vide Johnson's Collection in the India Office* (67 Portfolios arranged and catalogued); some reproductions are given in *the Court Painters of the Grand Mughals, A History of Fine Arts in India and Ceylon etc.*

[2] *Ibid.* Here also we find a critical discussion by Abul Faḍl of the Art of Writing and Painting.

Jahāngīr, Shāh Jahān, and also Aurangzeb carried on the traditional patronage of both Indian and foreign artists. Indo-Muslim painting attained its highest achievement, both in style and character, during the reign of Shāh Jahān (A.D. 1627—1658) and the attenuation of its artistic grandeur is apparent in the well-known *Muraqqa'* of Dārā Shikūh now preserved in the India office, completed in (A.D. 1641—1642), which is described by Smith, as " a most pathetic bit of wreckage from a princely library."[3]

Prince Dārā Shikūh, notwithstanding his pre-occupation with the study of many religious systems, was a generous patron of arts and letters. His refined tastes and scholarly habits developed in him a fine aesthetic sense, which led to his appreciation of works of fine arts of calligraphy and painting. He was himself a noted calligraphist, and a pupil of the renowned master of his time, Āqā 'Abdur Rashīd Dailamī, a court-calligraphist of Shāh Jahān, who is described by *Tadhkira'i Khushnawīsān* as " the prophet of realm of Calligraphic Art."[4] He

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[3] Smith: *A History of Fine Arts in India and Ceylon.* Oxford 1911, p. 457.

[4] پیغمبر ملک خطّاطی است 'Abdur Rashīd Dailmī was a noted calligraphist, and author of a valuable Persian Dictionary entitled *Muntakhab-ul-Lughāt*, which he dedicated to Shāh Jahān. He was a sister's son and pupil of Mīr 'Imād, after whose murder he migrated to India in the reign of Shāh Jāhan. He became Dārā Shikūh's teacher and that of Zeb-ul-Nisa, daughter of Aurangzeb. He died in A. H. 1081 (1670-71), according to the author of Tārīkh-i-Muhammadī in 1085, A. H. For specimens of his works (painting and calligraphy), *vide.* Martin's *Miniature Painting and Painters of Persia, India and Turkey.* London, 1912, (plate. 201)

Dārā Shikūh and Fine Arts.

could write both in *Naskh* and *Nasta'līq* in a very graceful style in imitation of his teacher Āqā Rashīd. A strikingly charming painting in Mr. A. Ghosh's collection depicts him taking his lessons in calligraphy from the renowned master.[5] This picture abounds in fine illumination, rich ornamentation and luxurious colour scheme; Dārā Shikūh is seen sitting in the first row with his illustrious teacher. If the historical accuracy of the painting is established, we can conclude with justification, that he had received much benefit from the incomparable skill and unsurpassable ability of his teacher. Ghulām 'Ali *Haft-Qalam* pays a high tribute to the extraordinary penmanship of the prince and remarks, "In spite of his busy life as a prince and occupation with many sciences, few have written like him in imitation of the style of Āqā 'Abdur Rashīd."[6]

Fourteen extant specimens of his Calligraphy.

Many extant specimens of the calligraphy of Dārā Shikūh, preserved in various oriental libraries, show that he possessed a remarkably high degree of perfection both in *Naskh* and *Nasta'līq* and a seldom surpassed grace and beauty in writing. M. Maḥfūẓ-ul-Ḥaq has collected the following thirteen specimens of his calligraphy[7] :—

(1) *Safīnat-ul-Awliyā'*, Oriental Public Library

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and **Cat.** *of Indian Collections in the Museum of Fine Arts Bostan*, Vol. IV, p. 41 (plates XXVI and LIV).

[5] Reproduced in the *Calcutta Review*, March 1925.

[6] Tadhkira'i Khushnawīsān, *Bib. Ind.* p. 54.

داراشکوه پسر شاهجهان پادشاه شاگرد عبدالرشید آقا است، باوجود اشتغال امور شاهزادگی و دیگر علوم برخطّ
آقا عبدالرشید شاید کسی مثل او نوشته باشد۔

[7] *Majma'-ul-Baḥrain*, *Bib. Ind.* 1929. p. 20-22; also ***Muslim Review***, Vol. II. No. 3, 1928.

Patna, MS. No. 673, bearing the following note in the hand-writing Dārā Shikūh :—

ہذا کتاب سفینة اولیا حرره محمد دارا شکوه حنفی قادری ۱۰۵۰ ہجری

Khān Bahādur ʻAbdul Muqtadar (*Catalogue of Persian MSS. in the Oriental Public Library, Patna, Vol. VIII*, p. 47-48) is of opinion that the MS. has been collated by Dārā Shikūh, as the marginal notes indicate and not copied by him, as is generally asserted.[s]

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[s] To this may be added that unique autograph MS. of *Safīnat-ul-Awliyā'*, transcribed by Dārā Shikūh, in the private collection of Dewān Bahādur Rāja Narindra Nāth of Lahore. The date of its transcription is 1049 A.H., i.e. the year in which the work was completed. The MS. has been noticed in the Punjab University *Oriental College Magazine* (May, 1934) and a rotograph of the same has been obtained for the Arabic Section of the Punjab University Library.

The original MS. was lent by the owner to Dr. Rabindra Nath Tagore for 6 months for my use in our Department of Islamic Studies at Santiniketan.

Written in clear *Nastaʻlīq*, it contains 224 folios 10″ × 6″, with written surface about 6½″ × 3½″, lines 15 per page. It has been reshaped by the owner and minor alterations and additions have been made at several places. Illegible and incorrect words have been scraped and in their place ornamental flowers and decorations have been inserted. Of first 9 pages, only fragments have remained, but the remaining portions have been beautifully preserved in leather binding. The MS. concludes with the following lines:

خاتمه الحمد لله والمنة که این کتاب مسمی به سفینة اولیا از یمن روح مطهر حضرت سید الانبیا صلی الله
وعلی آله واصحابه وسلم وتوجه اولیای معظم قدس ارواحهم، در شب بیست وهفتم ماه رمضان المبارک یک هزار
وچهل ونه هجری که سال بیست وپنجم این فقیر است باتمام رسید۔
امید که این سفینهٔ سکینه از برکت اسامی این بزرگان قبول یابد وخوانندگان بینندگان تمام ازان
حاصل آید واگر بمقتضای بشریت سهوی وخطائی شده باشد، ارباب دانش آنرا بذیل اصلاح بپوشند،
الحمد لله حمداً کثیراً دائماً ابداً ۔
حرره الخادم الفقیر محمد دارا شکوه حنفی قادری سنی ابن شاهجهان غازی ۔

(2) The *Qur'ān*, written on deer skin in 1051 A.H., bearing the following note at the colophon :

کتبہ بندہ آثم دارا شکوہ بن شاہجہان بادشاہ غازی در مقام شاہجہان آباد سنہ ۱۰۵۱ ھ

Shams-ul-Ulama Ḥāfiẓ Nazīr Aḥmad, who examined the MS. in the *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (New Series, 1917, p. xc) remarks : "The verses of the Qur'ān are written throughout in gold. The headings are illuminated with fine floral designs and the copy is beautifully illuminated throughout. The MS. is carefully preserved in a splendid library ('Azīz Bāgh Library, Hyderabad-Deccan."

(3) *Panjsūra*, written in learned *Naskh* in gold. The MS. formerly belonged to the Buhar Library, Calcutta, but is now deposited with the Trustees of Victoria Memorial Hall, Calcutta. (See *Catalogue Raisonné of Persian MSS.* in the Buhar Library, p. viii).

(4) *Dah Pand-i-Arasṭū*, in fine clear Nasta'līq, within gold-ruled borders, preserved in the Victoria Memorial Hall, Calcutta.

(5) *Risāla'i Ḥikmat-i-Arasṭū*, copied by the Prince in 1041 A.H. and now preserved in Āṣifiya Library Hyderabad-Deccan. (See Urdu *Hand-list* of the Library, Vol. II. p. 1770—71).

The cover of the last folio contains the names of a few persons from whose hands the MS. has passed. In addition, there are affixed 3 seals. The first reads:

عنایت خانہ زاد بادشاہ غازی احمد شاہ

The other two seals are of square shape of the 12th century A.H. but not clear enough :

میر کتاب خانہ ضیاء الدولہ احمد خاں بہادر سنہ ۱۱۶۱ ھ

میر کتاب خانہ محی الدولہ محی الدین خاں بہادر سنہ ۱۱۶۹ ھ

(6) Sharaḥ-i-Dīwān-i-Ḥāfiẓ, by Saif-ud-Dīn Abul Ḥasan, 'Abdul Raḥmān, defective at the beginning. The date of transcription is not given in the Urdu *Hand-list* (Vol. I. p. 738—39) of the Āṣifiya Library, Hyderabad-Deccan, where the MS. is at present.

(7) A note on the fly-leaf of an autograph copy of a mathnawī of Bahā-ud-Dīn Sulṭān Walad, son of the well-known Jalāl-ud-Dīn Rūmī. The Manuscript belonged to the Government of India and was noticed in the *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (1870. p. 251). H. Blochmann published a facsimile of the autograph note of Dārā Shikūh in the *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal* (1870. p. 272) which runs as follows:—

هو القادر

مثنوی سلطان ولد

بخطِ مبارک ایشان

راقمہ محمد داراشکوه

(8) A Waṣlī exhibited at the Sixth Session of the *Nadwat-ul-'Ulama* held at Benares in 1906. (See *An-Nadwa*, Vol. III, No. 4).

(9) A Waṣlī exhibited at the Second Session of the Indian Historical Records Commission held at Lahore, 1920 (See p. xxii of the *Proceedings* of the Commission).

(10) A Waṣlī in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, dated 1046 A.H. (1636 A.D.). *Vide.* Sachau and Ethe's *Catalogue of Persian MSS. in the Bodleian Library*, Vol. I, Column No. 1090.

(11) It appears from the letters of Shiblī Na'mānī, a well-known Urdū scholar, that Dr. E. Denison Ross had in his possession an autograph of Dārā Shikūh (See *Makātīb-i-Shiblī*, Vol. II, p. 241).

(12) A Waṣlī exhibited at the Fourth Meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission held at Delhi (See

Proceedings of the Commission, Vol. IV., p. 107, and *Memoirs of the Arch. Sur. of India*, No. 29, p. 12).

(13) An autograph note on the valuable Album which Dārā Shikūh presented to his " nearest and dearest wife " Nādira Begum.

Dārā Shikūh and Painting.

Dārā Shikūh's great skill in calligraphy aroused his interest in the Art of Painting. In Indo-Persian Art, calligraphy and miniature are like twin sisters or better perhaps, as Huart observes, the Oriental miniature is a maidservant of calligraphy.[9] A great admirer of Indo-Iranian Art, he was also a connoisseur of the technique of the miniature; and being catholic in spirit, refined in tastes, with no religious scruples to mar his appreciative sense, he became a good judge and an excellent collector of the pictorial art of the Mughals. He has expressed his views on the subject in a preface which he wrote for his renowned *Muraqqa'* now preserved in the India Office. So far as is known, only three copies of this preface are now extant: one in the Bodleian Library Oxford; second in the private collection of Maulvī 'Abdul Ḥaq of Aurangabād and the third incorporated in a MS. of *Nigāristān-i-Munīr*[10] in the Bibliotheque Nationable Paris (Blochet's

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[9] *Les Calligraphes et les Miniatures de l'Orient Musulman*, Paris, 1908.

[10] The letters, notes and other writings of refined prose of Abul Barakāt Munīr of Lahore (d. 7th of Rajab A. H. 1054) collected by the author, are variously styled as *Insha-i-Munīr*, *Munshāt-i-Munīr* and *Ruqqa'āt-i-Munīr*, but this collection or at least a portion of it, is entitled as *Nigāristān-i-Munīr* by Rieu (Cat. of Pers. MS. Vol. III, p. 1048a). In my opinion, as I have found in the available writings of Munīr, this is not likely to contain Dārā Shikūh's preface to his *Muraqqa*; the more likely place for it would be *Bahār-i-Sakhun* by Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kambū of Lahore (wr. 1065 A.H.), as the Introduction to this collection written by Abul Barakāt Munīr "contains certain official and private letters, the former written in the name of Shāh Jahān, 'Alamgīr and other royal and princely personages' (Ethe. 2090—92). It is, however, probable that the MS. entitled as *Nigāriṣtān-i-Munīr* in the Bibliotheque

Catalogue, No. 701). The text of the Preface has now been made available through the efforts of Dr. 'Abdullāh Chughtā'ī, who has examined the MS. of *Nigāristān-i-Munīr* in Paris.[11]

Debācha-i-Muraqqa' **and its Text.**

The Preface is written in ornate prose interspersed with equally ornate verse. It opens with the praise of God, the Prophet and the four Caliphs. The *Muraqqa'* for which the preface is written is repeatedly styled at *Kārnāmah*. Here are some extracts from it:

> "....And I have acquired the kingdom of Calligraphy (khaṭ) and the connoisseurs of the Art have shown deference to it. I have tied down the hands of the masters of this Art and with folded hands (in humility) have carried on this work.
>
> "This *Kārnāmah* (Album?) I have illustrated with my own luminous writing and this enlightened garden I have nurtured with the drops of my pen.
>
> "And whereas, I, Dārā Shikūh, son of Shāh Jahān, with the aid of my pen have, for a considerable time, recreated the foundation-line (khiṭṭa) of Calligraphy (khaṭ) and have remodelled it with my excellent penmanship....
>
> "By the name of the Creator. What a *Kārnāmah*! in which penmanship agrees gracefully with painting, where style of the latter is harmonious with that of the former. Its writing is the firmament of agreeability and its painting represent both form and spirit......"

And then he pays a tribute to his father Shāh Jahān, his grandeur, equity and love for Islam:

> "The second Lord of the happy conjunction (Ṣāḥib-i-Qirān) but
> the first Lord of the World,
> The King who shaped the form of the Faith to perfection,
> He was not the first Ṣāḥib-i-Qirān (Timur), but indeed
> The Painter's second effort surpasses his first!

Nationale, might be a collection of Munīr's writings including his Introduction to *Bahār-i-Sakhun*.

[11] *Vide*. The Punjab University *Oriental College Magazine*, May, 1937.

Of the Album, he speaks in very glowing terms:

"Before its Calligraphy (khaṭ) the lines of water (khaṭ-i-āb) are in shame and the circle round the Sun (Khaṭ-i-āftāb) stands discredited; its paintings are set aright along with calligraphy like an ordinance of God and the latter, like the idol-worshippers, its heart enamoured of the former, invoke the protection of God. The loveliness of its pictorial art is associated with the charm of the beauties, and the dot of its writing links itself with the mole of the sweet-heart:

Fragment

"By the Grace of God, this colourful *Muraqqa'*
Attained perfection through the efforts of my pen.
Its gracious view makes the eye tipsy, for
Its lines are as intoxicating as those of the Cup of Jamshīd.
Such is the charm of its pictorial Art, that
The silver-bodied idols, out of shame, have fallen on the path of error.
The men of vision look up to its writing for illumination,
For, the collyrium of evening brightens up the eyes of the stars;
Its writing is superb, like the down (*khaṭ*) on the moon-faced cheeks,
May the Time's page be ever illumined by it!

Towards the end of the preface Dārā Shikūh speaks very harshly of the erroneous scribes—"the poets and men of letters often fall victim to the scoundrelly scribes, worst writers than whom there are none in any realm—"

The *Muraqqa'* of Dārā Shikūh contains 78 folios besides many decorated fly-leaves. It has on each *fol. a*, a miniature and on *fol. b*, 30 signed specimens of calligraphy by Masters of the Art, the earliest being on *fol.* 62 *b*, dated A.H. 904 (A.D. 1498—99) at Herāt. The first *folio* contains an impression of seal of the Kitābdār of Emperor Aurangzeb, named Sayyid 'Ali al-Ḥusainī,[12] who styles himself as "a murīd of 'Ālamgīr," dated A.H. 1069. The beautiful transcription by Dārā Shikūh on *fol.* 2 *a*, is in the form of dedication, though on account of its being written on a splash of gold, the ink has lost its sheen It reads:

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[12] سید علی الحسینی مرید بادشاه عالمگیر سنه ۱۰۶۹ھ Mīr Sayyid Ali Khān al-Husainī *Jawāhar-Raqam* of Tabrez, son of Āqā Muqīm, a renowned calligraphist. According to *Mir'āt-ul-Khayāl*, he came to India during Shāh Jahān's reign and entered his service. He was Aurangzeb's tutor and was later appointed superintendent of the Imperial Library. He died in 1094 A.H. in Deccan due to a malady of instanity. *Vide*. Tadhkira'i Khushnawīsān, Bib. Ind. p. 57-58).

این مرقع نفیس پاس (؟) همدم و همراز...... خاص نادره بیگم داد
محمد دارا شکوه ابن شاه جهان پادشاه غازی سنه ۱۰۵۱

From the dedicatory note it is evident that the *Muraqqa'* was presented by Dārā Shikūh to his "nearest and dearest wife Lady Nādira Begum "[13] in the year A.H. 1051 (A.D. 1641—42).

Muraqqa' suggests the unity of Calligraphy and Miniature.

The *Muraqqa'* of Dārā Shikūh suggests a very close connection which exists between calligraphy and painting in the Indo-Persian Art. Essential harmony between the khaṭ and the naksh is evident from the remarkable assimilative character of the both found in the works of the artists in the Mughal School of Painting; thus, many of the Albums in London Collections notably in the British Museum, India Office and Victoria and Albert Museum (Indian Section) containing miniatures include hundreds of specimens of calligraphy. Architectural frescoes in Indo-Persian style on various

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[13] Nādira Bānu Begum, the daughter of his uncle Sulṭān Parvez, to whom the Prince was married on Sunday, the 8th of Jumāda I, A.H. 1042 (*Pādshāhnāma*, *Bib. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 452 *sq.*) and had two male issues from her—Sulaimān Shikūh and Sipahr Shikūh, both of whom shared the misfortune of their father and died in the prison fort of Gwaliar. According to Tavernier (*Travels*, Vol. I. p. 350), Nādira Bānu Begum, accompained her husband after his defeat and perished of heat and thirst in the desert of Sind. The prince was so effected by the news that he fell as though he were dead.

Mughal buildings invariably contain calligraphic decorations, chiefly in Persian or Arabic verse; and similarly, miniatures relevant to the subject of history or romance, illustrating manuscripts written chiefly in *Nasta'līq* (with perhaps their total absence in the transcriptions of the *Holy Qur'ān*), form an outstanding decorative feature of the calligraphic works of art.

Among those whose signed specimens of calligraphy are included in the *Muraqqa'* are: Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Qadīmī (fol. 2 b); 'Ali Kātib (fol. 20 b); Mīr 'Ali al-Kātib[14] (fol. 21a); 'Abd al-Husain? (fol. 27a); 'Abdur Raḥīm *'Anbarīn-Raqam*[15] (fol. 28a) Muḥammad Ḥusain Zarrīn-Raqam (fol. 29a) who styles himself as Jahāngīr Shāhī; Ṣulṭān Muḥammad Khandān[16] (fol. 39b); Muḥammad bin Isḥāq Shahābī (fol. 38b); Muḥammad (Ḥusain) al-Kāshmīri[17] (fol. 40b); Shāh Muḥammad Kātib (fol. 60b); Zain-ud-Dīn Maḥmūd

Specimens of noted calligraphists in the *Muraqqa'*.

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[14] Mīr 'Ali al-Kātib of Herāt, son of Maḥmūd Rafīqī and a learned pupil of Sulṭān 'Ali. *Tadhkira-i-Shama'i Anjuman* describes him a contemporary of Jāmī. He was also a poet with the *nom de plume of Majnūn*. In Bukhārā, he was associated with 'Abdullāh Khān Uzbak. *Tadhkira-i-Khushnawīsān* (op. cit.) states that he inscribed his name with the specimens of his calligraphy in the famous *Muraqqa'* of Jahāngīr. He also wrote a treatise on the principles of Calligraphy for prince Sulṭān Maḥmūd Muẓaffar. He died in A.H. 950.

[15] Most probably Mirza 'Abdur Raḥīm Khankhānān, son of Bairam Khān, who is described as one "who possessed a great skill in the calligraphic art." He was born in A.H. 964 and died in A.H. 1036. Another calligrapher of this name was a pupil of Āqā 'Abdul Rashīd. (*Tadhkira-i-Khushnawīsān*, p. 56).

[16] Sulṭān Muḥammad Khandān, a pupil of Maulāna Aẓhar who himself was a pupil of Mīr 'Ali Tabrezi. He lived during the reign of Amīr Timūr.

[17] Muḥammad (Ḥusain) al-Kāshmīri was an Indian *Nasta'līq* writer, whom Akbar gave the title of *Zarrīn-Raqam* (*Ā'īn-i-Akbarī*, p. 115). Abul Faḍl also calls him *Jādū-Raqam* and *Zarrīn-Qalam*. He was a pupil of Maulāna 'Abdul 'Azīz and died in 1020 A.H.

Kātib[18] (fol. 62b); Muḥammad Ḥussain *Zarrīn-Raqam* Akbar Shāhi (fol. 68b); and Ṣulṭan Muḥammad[19] (fol. 77a).

The last folio again contains an impression of the seal of Sayyid 'Ali al-Ḥusainī, the *Kitābdār* of 'Alamgīr, dated A.H. 1069.

The *Murraqa'* of Dārā Shikūh contains about 40 miniatures. Some of these are remarkable specimens of Indo-Persian art; *e.g.*:

Fol. 8. *Brown Bird*, anonymous, reproduced by Smith (Plate CXX) with the description: "A charming bird study—long-legged brown bird standing by the side of a pool, fringed with grass, flowers and bamboos in tolerably good perspective. The blue sky unfortunately is rather crude."[20]

The miniatures in the *Muraqqa'*.

Fol. 10. *Wild Duck*, anonymous, reproduced by Smith (Plate CXXI) "representing a wild duck standing by the side of a pool at the foot of a hillock. Sunlight is boldly indicated by a wash of gold with a surprisingly fine effect." [21]

Fols. 11 and 12. *An Old Faqīr in two Positions*, holding a book in one hand, and a rosary in the other. The outline of the figure is drawn with the usual sharpness and shading with fine lines is employed sufficiently to give an impression of roundness. Subdued colouring.

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[18] Zain-ud-Dīn (Maḥmūd) a pupil of Muḥammad 'Ārif Yāqūt. Another calligrapher of this name is Maulāna Zain-ud-Dīn Nishāpuri, a pupil of Mualāna Sulṭān 'Ali Mashhadi.

[19] Ṣulṭān Muḥammad (Nūr?) a contemporary of Sulṭān Muḥammad Khandān (*supra*).

Mīr Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, son of Mīr Muḥammad 'Abdullāh *Mushkīn-Raqam* was a poet and a renowned calligraphist in the *Nasta'līq* style. According to *'Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ* of Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kanbū (wr. A.H. 1070), he had a double pen-name—Kashfi in Persian and Subhānī in Hindi. He died in A.H. 1061. (*Vide* Tadhkīra-i-Khushnawīsān, *Bib. Ind.* p. 101.).

[20] *A History of Fine Arts in India and Ceylon*, Oxford, 1911, p. 476.

[21] *Ibid.*

Fols. 17b, 18, 19b, 33b, 35b and 45b. *Six Portraits of Prince Salīm*, by anonymous artists. That on *fol.* 18, is of exquisite beauty, rich in colour and scheme. It shows the young Prince Salīm (Jahāngīr) sitting at his knees on a luxurious carpet, before a saint who is holding a book in his hands. In the background is a lake, beyond which are visible domes of village helmets. Above stands a gold, blue and yellow sky of infinite beauty, with a few larks hovering by in the distant horizon.

Fol. 21. *A Sāqī in Iranian Robes Filling a Cup* of *Wine*, with this transcription: Muḥammad Khān Muṣawwar, A.H. 1943.

Fol. 37a. *A Prince and a Darvesh.*

Fol. 41a and 41b. *Landscape.*

Fol. 48a. *Portrait of an Amīr.*

Fol. 45. *A Lady Under a Blossoming Tree.*[22]

Fol 42b and 43. *Two Wood Engravings*, one of S. Caterina di Siena dated 1585 A.D., and the other of S. Margarita of about the same period.

Fol. 60. *Reading the Qur'ān*, by an anonymous artist. A Mullā is reading the *Qur'ān* which is placed on a stand; two pupils are listening attentively while a third is performing abulutions.[23]

Fol. 71b and 72b. *Two Bird Studies.*

Fol 74. *A Lady with a Gentleman in European Costume.*

The style of some of the miniatures enumerated above, varies according to the theme, but in all other respects —

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[22] Reproduced by Binyon (The Court Painters of the Grand Mughals), Plate XXXI.

[23] Smith. op. cit. Plate CXXIX.

richness of colour, brilliancy of outline and sharpness of tone, nearly all pictures represent the salient features of Indo-Persian Art.

The style of the miniatures.

Some paintings show a not too insignificant influence of European Art; two wood engravings (fol. 42b and 43) and another picture (fol. 74) deal with christian subjects; while the charming delineations of bird of life are in pure Persian style, with perhaps a superb but undefinable Indian touch. The landscapes are all in Indo-Persian conception, while some show a high degree of synthesis between Indian traditional art and Persian technique. The Sāqī and nearly all the portraits of Prince Salīm are purely Persian both in colour and scheme.

The *Muraqqa*' of Dārā Shikūh, which is now preserved in the India Office, is a rare combination of style and subject. It contains unique specimens both of calligraphic and pictoral art begining from Akbar's time till the end of Shāh Jahān's reign, compiled and arranged by the Prince himself—a fact which bears a remarkable testimony to his high artistic taste and appreciative sense.

The Value of the *Muraqqa*' in the Indo-Persian Art.

Nearly all critics are unanimous about its value as a rare collection of works of Indo-Persian art; though one remarks, " that very few pictures show any strength," while another observes, " that they may have been chosen for the femininity of their character, as the volume formed a present to a lady." It is in this respect that a pathetic and intense human interest surrounds the Album, as it was a gift from a loving husband to a devoted wife. Apart from this holo of romance and tragedy, the *Muraqqa*', to a student of Indo-Iranian Art presents a brilliant paramona of the remarkable achievement of the Mughals in the patronage of Art and Calligraphy. "What *Koh-i-Noor* is to other eastern diamonds," remarks Cecil L. Burns, "surely the richly bound volume in wrought leather, containing minatures of Persian, Central Asian and Mughal artists, and specimens of calligraphy of the highest quality of the penmen's and painter's art, must be to any other volumes of similar character .... The Album is similar to such an one as Vasaris, the great biographer of the Renaissance in Italy, prepared of the drawings of the artists of that period. All are of the highest quality, of the schools represented, and afford a striking testimony to the knowledge of the Prince who selected them."[24]

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[24] Quoted from the Times of India Annual, 1925, by M. Maḥfūẓ-ul-Ḥaq in the *Muslim Review*, Vol. II. No. 3, 1928.

PART TWO

STUDIES IN HINDUISM AND TRANSLATIONS FROM SANSKRIT

PROLOGUE

Muslim contact with outer world: a great civilising force.

Muslim interest in India—particularly in Indian sciences, *viz.* religion, astronomy, astrology, medicine, mathematics, etc.—presents today a great historical phenomenon revolving back to as early as the first half of the 2nd century A.H. The meteoric rise of Islam beyond the Arabian peninsula into Syria, Iraq, Egypt and Persia within a decade of the death of the holy Prophet, brought the sturdy Arabs into contact with some of the most ancient civilisations the world had ever seen. The Arab warrior with a fanatical zeal conquered new lands, the Arab administrative genius incorporated them into the *Dār-ul-Islām*, but in the wake of the two came slowly and imperceptibly the Arab mind, to study and understand the cultural and the intellectual achievements of those whom they had conquered. Gradually, within a century, the process of cultural contact with the outside world proved a great civilising force which culminated in the Arab renaissance movement at the great centre of Islamic learning at Baghdad, founded by al-Manṣūr in A.H. 145.

Centre of Islamic learning at Baghdād.

The reign of the Caliphs saw an unprecedented intellectual interest of the Arab world in the religion and sciences of the non-Muslims. Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr (A. H. 136—158) established a research and translation Bureau entitled the *Bait-al-Hikmat*, where learned men engaged themselves in the study and translation of Greek, Syriac, Zend, Latin and Sanskrit works, mostly on philosophical, astronomical and medical sciences. The patronage of sciences and literature, both Islamic and foreign, continued during the glorious reigns of Hārūn (A.H. 170—193) and Māmūn (A.H. 198—218). Men of letters, poets, physicians, and philosophers mustered at Māmūn's court for their learning. "The monasteries of Syria, Asia Minor and the Levant," observes Muir,[1] "were ransacked for manuscripts of the Greek philosophers, historians and geometricians. These with vast labour and erudition were translated into Arabic." During this period Indian, Jewish and Christian scholars were maintained at the court.

Infusion of Indian thought in Islamic world.

Indian thought reached the early Islamic world through diverse channels. The Magian, imbued both in Indian and Persian philosophy and learning, embraced Islam during al-Manṣūr's reign. He brought with him the knowledge of Indian and Buddhistic religions, customs and traditions. The great family of Bramak ministers who ruled the Islamic world for more than half a century (136-186 A.H.),were perhaps the greatest Indianists whose interest in Indian learning was unbounded. Though the Barmaks were Indian Buddhists in origin converted to Islam, and it is probable, that K͟hālid b. Barmak might have been "induced by family traditions" to introduce Indian sciences into the Islamic world, it would be wrong to assume that the whole intellectual interest of the Muslims rested on the official patronage of the Baghdad court. The unfortunate end of the Barmaks with their extermination by Hārūn al-Rashīd, did not bring an abrupt end to the Indo-Arab cultural contact; on the other hand, Indian sciences had already aroused Muslim interest to such an extent that during the next few centuries we find Arab historians, scholars, geographers and travellers visiting India to obtain first-hand information about her people, geography, religion, sciences and social customs. The process of cultural contact between the Arabs and the Indians was a part of the great Arab renaissance movement; though academic in character, it was, nonetheless, a spontaneous effort of the Muslims to acquire knowledge of the sciences of other peoples of the world. It is, however, difficult to ascertain the amount of Indian influence on Islamic medicine, astronomy, mathematics, etc., though Nicholson thinks, that it was considerable, but "was greatly inferior to that of the Greeks."

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[1] *The Caliphate*: *Rise, Decline and Fall*, Edinburgh, 1924, p 509.

Interest of Arab Scholars in Indian sciences.

Many Arab scholars continued to show an ever-increasing interest in Indian sciences. Dr. Sachau thinks,[2] that in Alberūnī's time in Arabia "there were circles of educated men who had an interest in getting the scientific works of India translated into Arabic, who at the same time were sufficiently familiar with the subject-matter to criticise the various representations of the same subject and to give preference to one, to the exclusion of the other." Even before that, at Baghdad in the 2nd century A.H., many religious discussions were often held between Muslim scholars and learned men of other communities. It is stated that under the patronage of the Barmaks, many *Pandits* took part in these discussions and one or two Muslims were sent to India to acquire the knowledge of Indian sciences.[3]

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[2] *Alberūnī's India*, London, 1914, p. xxiv.

[3] For details of many religious discussions at Baghdad and in India and description of Indian religious customs, etc. *vide.* Kāmil

Indian response negligible.

It is curious that with all the intellectual forces working at the Baghdad court, the Indians made very little response to the genuine philosophical interest of the Muslims in India. They received Muslim travellers with reserve and suspicion, and very few, if any, showed any inclination towards acquiring any knowledge of Islamic religion, philosophy and social customs. There is no evidence to that effect except that during the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd (A.H. 170—193), a Hindu ruler sent a message to Baghdad that a Muslim theologian may be sent over to India to acquaint him about their religion. A Hindi (Sanskrit? or Sindhi?) translation of the Qur'ān is said to have been made in A.H. 280 at the order of a Hindu Raja. According to Yanbū'ī, in the first half of the 4th century A.H., the ruler of Alra named (Mahrug?) wrote to Amīr Abdullāh b. 'Umar, the governor of Manṣūra in Sind, to send some one to initiate him into Islamic religion.[4]

Early references.

Before Alberūnī, Jāhiz of Baṣra (d. 255 A.H.), a famous scholar in the Arabic language wrote on the Principles of Indian Rhetoric in his work entitled the *Kitāb al-Bayān*. Ahmad b. Ya'qūb b. Ja'far (d. 287 A.H.), a historian and geographer who visited India, has compiled a list of Indian works translated into Arabic.[5] Muhammad b. Ishāq Ibn al-Nadīm in his encyclopaedic work the *al-Fihrist*[6] refers constantly to a large number of works on Indian religion,

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Ibn al-Athīr (Account of the year 148 A.H.); Mas'ūdī's *Kitāb Murūj al-Dhahab wa ma'adin al-jawhar* (ed. Barbier de Meynard), Vol. I. pp. 162-63, 253-54, 298, 327-28 *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, p. 446 *sq.*; *'Ajā'ib al-Hind*, Leydon, p. 4. *ff.* etc.

[4] *'Ajā'ib al-Hind*, op. cit.

[5] *Ibn wadih qui Dicitur al-Jaqubi Historiae* (ed. Houtama), Vol. I, p. 95 and 104.

[6] Ed. by Fluegel Leipzig.

medicine, astronomy etc. translated into Arabic. Qāḍī Ṣā'id Andulūsī (d. 462 A.H.) has devoted one chapter on Indian sciences in his *Ṭabaqāt-ul-Ummam*[7] and Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a's (590—668 A.H.) general biography of physicians entitled the *'Uyūn al-Inbā' fī Ṭabaqāt al Aṭibbā'* contains one chapter on Indian physicians.[8]

Muslim travellers and historians.

From the second century A.H. onwards, Arab historians, geographers and travellers reflected the increasing interest of the Muslim intellectual world in India. Among the former, many came to India, but their works refer more to Indian history, geography and natural sciences than to the religion, castes and sects of India. Ibn Khurdādhbah's *Kitāb al-Masālik wal-Mamālik*[9] (written in A.H. 250), a work on the World Land and Sea Routes, deals also with Indian coasts and customs. Sulaimān Tājir (d. A.H. 237) in his otherwise admirable account of his travels in Iraq, India and China entitled the *Silsilat-ut-Tawārīkh*,[10] shows little interest in Indian religious thought, though he gives at some length details of Indian social life and the administration of the coastal kingdoms. "India is the birth-place of the Chinese religion, which consists in the worship of Buddha's idols," he observes, " but it is also the home of medicine, astrology and philosophy."[11] Abū Zaid Sīrāfī (A.H. 264), who wrote a Supplement to Sulaimān Tājir's *Safarnāma*, speaks of Indian religion—conception of the soul, transmigration, etc., the customs of Buddhist monks and the *Devadāsīs* in South Indian temples.[12] The accounts of great Arab travellers like Abū

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[7] Bairut, 1912., p. 11. *sq.*

[8] Vol. II. p. 33 *sq.*

[9] Ed. by Goeje, Leydon. 1889.

[10] Ed. by Langles, Paris, 1845.

[11] *Ibid.* p. 57.

[12] The Second Book of the *Silsilat-ut-Tawārikh*, p. 60-1, 77-79, 93-101, 119-22, 126-130, 138-39, 145-47.

Dulaf Mus'ar b. Muhalal Yanbū'ī (A.H. 331) who travelled in China, Turkistan, Tibet, Kashmir, Multan, Sind and southern coast of India; Buzurg b. Shahryār (A.H. 300) the famous writer of the *'Ajā'ib al-Hind*; the globe-trotter Mas'ūdī (A.H. 303), who visited Iraq, Syria, Armenia, Asia Minor, Africa, Sudan, Abyssinia, China, Tibet and India; Istakharī (A.H. 340), the author of the *Masālik wal Mamālik*,[13] Ibn Ḥawqal, Ya'qūbī, Abul Faraj, Maqdisī, Alberūnī, Idrīsī, Dimishqī and Ibn Baṭṭūṭā show the great extent of Muslim interest in Indian history, religious philosophy, ethnology, and social customs.

The character of early Arabic literature on Indian religion.

Muhammadan literature on Indian religious beliefs before Alberūnī's time, as compared with works on Indian sciences, is negligible. A few works are known only by their names. The first is the now extinct *al-Diyānāt* of Abul 'Abbās al-Īrānshahrī of whom Alberūnī remarks, that "when he came in his work to speak of the Hindus and the Buddhists, his arrow missed the mark." The second is an unknown work on Buddhism by Zurqān, probably a contemporary of al-Irānshahrī; the third is the *Kitāb al-Bilad wal Tārīkh*,[14] a general history of world religions by Maṭahhar b. Ṭāhir Muqdisī (A.H. 335) and the fourth, though written in the middle of the 4th century A.H. by al-Shahristānī, entitled the *al-Millal wal-Nihal*, devotes an exclusive chapter to the religious systems of India.

Indian medicine.

"Of the more ancient or Indo-Aryan stratum of scientific literature," observes Dr. Sachau,[15] "nothing has reached our time save a number of titles of books, many of them in such a corrupt form as to baffle all attempts at decipherment."

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[13] Ed. by Goeje, Leydon, 1870.

[14] Paris, 6 Vols.

[15] Alberūnī's *India*, London, 1917, p. xxxii.

Many such names have come down to us from al-Manṣūr's reign (A.H. 136-158) when collection of works on sciences and their classification increased greatly.[16] In the field of medicine, Indian contribution was by far the greatest. Even before the time of the Abbasids, it is likely, that as early as the first century A.H., Muslims had studied foreign medicine and many works chiefly Syriac and Greek on the subject had been translated into Arabic. An Indian *vaidya*, named Manka, is described by Ibn al-Nadīm to have cured successfully Hārūn al-Rashīd of a serious malady.[16a] A Hindu physician, named Ibn Dhan,[17] is mentioned as the director of the hospital of the Barmaks at Baghdad. Yaḥya b. Kẖālid Barmak not only appointed Indian physicians in Baghdad hospitals but also engaged them to help in the translation of Sanskrit medical works into Arabic in the Imperial *Dār al-Ḥikmat*.[18] He is also said to have sent a man to India to collect indigenous herbs.[19]

Indian medical works translated into Arabic.

Of the most important Indian works on medicine, pharmacology, texicology, etc. translated into Arabic, very few have, however, survived in entirety; some at least are available in fragmentary character, mostly in the form of quotations in later works. These are Sasuruta's Manual on Indian Medicine translated into Arabic by Manka entitled *Sasru*; two Sanskrit works described by Ya'qūbī as *Sindhshān* and *Istangir* translated by Ibn

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[16] Suyuṭī: *History of the Caliphs*, Calcutta, 1880, p. 267.

[16a] *al-Fihrist,* ed. by Fluegal, Leipzig, 1871, p. 192.

[17] According to Sachau, the name of this Indian physician may be Dhanya or Dhanin, chosen probably on account of its etymological relationship with the name of Dhanvantari, the name of the mythical physician of the gods in Manu's law book and the epos. (*op. cit.* xxxii).

[18] *Ibid.* p. 245.

[19] *Ibid.* p. 345.

Dhan.[20] Abdullāh b. 'Ali translated Charaka's work on Indian medicine from a Persian version of the same. Manka, at the instance of Sulaimān b. Isḥāq, translated a Sanskrit work on pharmacology. Ibn al-Nadīm gives a full list of the works on Indian medicine known to the Muslims. According to Khwārazmī, besides many other minor works on the subject, one by Shānaq (?) on veterinary science is mentioned to have been translated into Arabic.[21]

Indian Astronomy Astrology, etc.

Indian astronomy, astrology and kindred sciences have received the special attention of the Muslims. Ibn Abī Aṣeba' observes,[22] that at Baghdad court Kanka Pandit was the best known among Indian astrologers besides the famous physician Manka. Of the former, Ibn al-Nadīm mentions,[23] that four of his works translated into Arabic were entitled the *Kitāb al-Namūdār fi al-'Amār*, the *Kitāb al-Asrār al-Mawālīd*, the *Kitāb al-Qirānāt al-Kabīr* and the *Kitāb al-Qirānāt al-Saghīr*; while the latter introduced the Muslims to the *Brahma-Siddhānta*, the famous Indian treatise on astronomy by Brahmagupta. This work was translated into Arabic by Ya'qūb al-Farazi under the name of *Sindhind*. Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl Tanūkhī went to India to study Indian astrology.[24] Caliph Mu'taqid Billāh (A.H. 279-286) sent Ahmad Khafī Dailmī, a well-known astronomer and mathematician to India to study these sciences. According to Jāhiz[25] and Ibn al-Nadīm,[26] Bahla and his son Ṣālih who embraced Islam, Manka, Bazigar (?) and Falbarfal (?)

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[20] Vol. I. p. 105. Ibn al-Nadīm (p. 303) calls the first work as *Sindstāq*.

[21] *Miftāḥ al-'Ulūm*, p. 186.

[22] Vol. II. p. 33.

[23] *Op. cit.* p. 270.

[24] *Ṭabaqāt-i-Ibn Bākuya*, Paris, 1914, p. 44.

[25] *Kitāb al-Bayān*, p. 40.

[26] *Op. cit.*

were famous Indian astronomers at the court of Hārūn al-Rashīd. The Sanskrit work of Āryabhata was translated into Arabic by al-Farazi the Younger and entitled as the *Arjaband*. Brahmagupta, without doubt, "taught the Arabs before they became acquainted with Ptolmey," but *Sindhind* was not the exclusive source of the Muslims on Indian astronomy. Brahmagupta's second work, the *Khanḍakhādayaka* had already been translated a little earlier under the name of *Alarkand*.[27] Among other Hindu astrologers, whose works were known to the Muslims, were Judar Hindī with his work (in translation?) known as *al-Mawālīd*; Nihak (?) Hindī with his work known as the *Asrār al-Masā'il* and Singhal Hindī with his wrok known as the *Kitāb al-Mawālīd al-Kabīr*.

Ibn Muqaffa''s translation of the *Pañchatantra.*

During the reign of al-Manṣūr, Ibn Muqaffa', a converted magian and a thorough scholar in many languages including Greek, Pahlawi and Sanskrit, translated into Arabic the *Pañchatantra* and named it *Kalīlāh wa Dimna*. A Pahlawi version of it was made during Naushirwān's reign and later, at the order of the Samanid ruler Amīr Naṣr b. Aḥmad (A. H. 301—331), Raudakī versified it into a Persian *mathawi*. The latter version is now lost, except its 242 couplets restored by Ethe in a monograph on Raudakī.[28] Ibn Muqaffa''s Arabic version of the *Pañchatantra* is perhaps the only Sanskrit work which was later on translated into about a dozen other languages including Syriac, Hebrew, Latin, Greek, Spanish, French, Turkish, English and Persian.

II

The invasion of Sind by Muḥammad b. Qāsim in A.H. 93/A.D. 712, marks a new phase both politically and cul-

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[27] *Op. cit.*

[28] Browne: *Literary History of Persia*, Vol. I. p. 457.

Second phase of Indo-Muslim cultural contact.

turally in the Indo-Arab relations, and till the close of the 10th century A.D., when Sultan Maḥmūd of Ghazna made a fresh series of invasions in the north-west, there was a sharp decline of official interest in Indian sciences. The Arab conquerors of Sind, with their new democratic ideals and zeal for the propagation of the faith, were, nonetheless, tolerent towards the religious institutions of non-Muslims. Though they left many temples undemolished, yet their attitude towards the study of Indian religions and sciences was markedly indifferent. Maḥmūd of Ghazna's reign is described by his antagonist Alberūnī as ruinous in which "the Hindus became like atoms of dust scattered in all directions and like a tale of old in the mouths of people," but with all his indifference towards Indian thought and culture, it cannot, however be denied that he ranked as an outstanding figure in the patronage of Islamic sciences, art and literature.

The Delhi Sultanate.

The Ghaznawids and the Sultanate of Delhi as kings showed very little interest in Indian literature, but both, irrespective of their idiosyncracies, were keen supporters of learning and culture. Towards the close of the Ghaznawid rule, during the reign of Behrām S͟hāh (A.H. 514—547), Abul Ma'ālī Naṣr b. 'Abdul Ḥamīd Mustaufī, who was the chief secretary in the *Dār-ul-Insha* during Sultan Ibrāhīm's reign, translated into Persian the Arabic version of Ibn Muqaffa's *Kalīlāh wa Dimna*. A few other works of Indian origin have survived the ravages of the time. It is recorded[29] that Sultan Feroz S͟hāh in A.H. 772 found in a temple at Jawālamukhī 1300 rare Sanskrit works. He called the Pandits of the temple and selected a number of works, mostly on astronomy, music and physical culture and ordered those to be translated into Persian. Among these was an Indian work on astronomy translated as the *Dalā'il-i-Ferozī* which Badāūnī claims to have read at Lahore in A.H. 1000. Another work on Indian astronomy by the great Varāhmihira was translated into Persian by the order of Sultan Feroz Shāh (A.H. 752—790) by Shams-i-Sirāj 'Afīf, the author of *Tārīkh-i-Ferozshāhī* under the title of *Tarjuma'i Barahi*; a treatise entitled the *Ghunyāt al-Munyat* on Indian music was translated during the same period by an anonymous writer.[30] During the reign of Sikandar Lodhī (A.H. 894—923) a work on Indian medicine was compiled from Sanskrit sources under the supervision of Mīāṇ Buhwat, son of Khawās Khan. This work entitled the *Ṭibb-i-Sikandarī* or the *Ma'dan ush-Shifa'i Sikandarī*, was decidedly an improvement on all previous translations from Indian works on medicine, as it contained a detailed and most comprehensive account of therapeutics (*Sūtra-Sthān*), structure of human body (*Sārīrak-Sthān*) and the diagnosis and treatment of diseases (*Nidana Chikitsa Sthān*).[31]

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[29] *Muntak͟hab-ut-Tawārīk͟h*, Vol. I. p. 249.

Muslim kingdoms of Kashmir and Deccan.

During this period, the Muslim kingdoms of Kashmir and Deccan showed a unique spirit of toleration towards non-Muslims and an active patronage of Indian learning. Zain al-'Ābdīn Shāh (A.H. 826—877) of Kashmir and Sultan Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh (ac. A.H. 942) are both outstanding figures. According to Firishta, the former was a linguist, knowing besides Islamic languages. Sanskrit and Tibetan which he could also speak. His religious toleration was not confined to the abolition of the *jizia* on the Hindus and prohibition of cow-slaughter, but he also enriched the Sanskrit language by ordering the translations of many Arabic and Persian works into that language, and similarly among many Sanskrit works translated into Persian at his instance were the ***Mahābhārata*** and the *Raj Tarangīnī*, the well-known dynastic history of Kashmir. Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh of Deccan was a man of enlightened outlook. According to Firishta,[32], he not only entrusted the administration to his able Hindu advisers, but also made Sanskrit the official language of his state. He was well-versed in Indian music and is said to have composed an original treatise on the subject entitled *Nau-Ras*.[33]

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[30] *Firishta, Vol.* I. p. 330.

[31] Rieu. Vol. II. p. 472.

Alberūnī.

Among the Muslim travellers and historians whose individual efforts brought the knowledge of Indian sciences to the Muslim world, Abū Raiḥān Alberūnī occupies a very high place. He came to India and studied at first-hand Indian religious systems, philosophy, literature, chronology, astronomy, customs and laws and in return taught Greek sciences to Indians. He gives an inkling of the reasons, which at this time tended to make more intimate cultural contact between Hindus and Muslims extremely difficult. These, according to him, were the difficulties of lingual and racial barriers, the fierce iconoclastic zeal of the Muslim conquerors, and the aloofness of the Hindu priestly class born of religious prejudice and self-conceit. Alberūnī's approach towards Indian religions and sciences is characterised by a peculiar charm of love for independent enquiry and an unbiased mind. In his method he is very thorough and searching, often synically critical, but, nonetheless, very sincere in the acquisition of knowledge. His attitude is that of " one who wants to converse with the Hindus, and discuss with them the question of religion, science or literature on the basis of their own civilisation."[34] Even more than that. He studied Indian religions, philosophy, literature, sciences and customs with an assidious zeal from original sources and compared them with the theories of Plato, Aristotle, Galenus, Ptolemy and other Greek writers.

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[32] Firishta, *op. cit.*

[33] Rieu: *Cat. of Persian MSS. in British Museum*, Vol. II. 741b; also Ethe; Vol. I. No. 1509.

His translations from Sanskrit.

His knowledge of Sanskrit works, which he has enumerated as his sources in the *Kitāb al-Hind*,[35] seems to be enormous. His translations from Sanskrit include that of the *Patañjli*, a treatise on the *Yoga* and theistic philosophy developed by Pātañjala; the *Sānkhya* of Kapila; Brahmagupta's *Brahma Sīddhānta* on Indian astronomy together with an original composition on the Principles of *Sidhānta* in Arabic entitled the *Jwāmi' al-Maujūd bi-Khawāṭir al-Hunūd*; Varāhmihira's *Laghujātkam* and many other translations on Indian sciences.

Amīr Khusrau.

Amīr Khusrau (d. 725 A.H), "the Indian Turk," stands as one of the leading figures whose appreciation of India, her sciences, religions and languages was unbounded. He studied Sanskrit, wrote poetry in Braj Bhaka and attained extraordinary skill in Indian music. The *Ma'āthir-ul-Umara* details an incident how ingeniously he out-witted the great Indian musician Gopal Nā'ik in the court of Sultan 'Ala-ud-Dīn Khiljī.[36] Shiblī relates briefly Khusrau's contribution to the synthesis of Indian and Persian music and shows him as the inventor of many Indo-Persian *rāgs* and *rāginīs*.[37] He is also said to have written some treatises on Indian music.[38] In one of his works—the *Nau Sipahr* (III) written in A.H. 718—he lavishes praise on India and gives ten reasons for the superiority of the Indians in science and wisdom over all other nations. He examines in a summary manner their philosophy, logic astrology, physics, mathematics, astronomy and metaphysics. Of the Hindus he remarks: "In divinity alone they are confused, but then, so are all other people. Though they do not believe in our religion, many of their beliefs are like us."[39] He also speaks of many languages of India—Hindu'i, Sindhī, Lahorī, Kashmiri, Dhur-Samudrī, Tilangī, Gujarī, Ma'barī, Gourī, Bengali, Oudhi and Sanskrit. Sanskrit, he adds, which with its "strange forms of grammatical irregularities in its orthography, syntax and literature," nonetheless, "is pure as pearl, inferior to Arabic but superior to Darī," [40]

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[34] *Alberūnī's India*, p. 246.

[35] *Ibid.* p. xxxix-xli.

[36] Calcutta, Vol. II. p. 479.

[37] *Sh'ir-ul-'Ajam*, Vol. I. p. 136-37.

[38] *Life and Works of Amir Khusrau*, Calcutta, p. 144.

III

Mughal Court patronage under Akbar.

After the lapse of about six centuries, the same historic phenomenon repeated itself at the Mughal court at Delhi. With the accession of Akbar in A.H. 963, a hitherto unprecedented official patronage of Hindu learning and translations from important Sanskrit works on Indian religion and various sciences followed.[41] Akbar, like his fore-fathers, possessed a refined taste for learning. According to Abul Faḍl, his library consisted of a large and varied collection of Hindi (Sanskrit), Persian, Greek, Kashmirian and Arabic works, all separately classified. "Experienced people bring them daily and read them before His Majesty, who hears every book from the beginning to the end."[42] Learned men of all the realm—poets, historians, theologians, philosophers, astronomers, physicians and musicians, swarmed the Imperial court. The court-chronicler records notices on the lives of 140 learned men in all sciences, classified in five different categories, 59 poets, court-poets and 36 principal musicians.[43] "Philologists are constantly engaged," says Abul Faḍl, "in translating Hindi (Sanskrit), Greek and Persian books into other languages." [44] Most of the translators were paid remuneration according to the merit of the work done by them.[45]

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[39] *Ibid*. p. 183.

[40] *Ibid*. p. 182-187.

[41] For a preliminary account of these translations, their origin and history vide. the *Journal Asiatique*, 1895, Tome VII; the *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*, p. 104 *ff*.; and *History of Persian Language and Literature at the Mughal Court*, (*Allahabad*, 1930), Part III. p. 33-35.

Abul Faḍl, Faiḍī, Mullā Badaūnī and others.

The most outstanding figures among a vast number of Muslim scholars and historians, who engaged themselves in the translation of Sanskrit works, were Akbar's scholarly Prime Minister, Abul Faḍl, his equally distinguished brother, Faiḍī, the Poet-laureate, the eminent historian Mullā 'Abdul Qādir Badāūnī, Naqīb Khān, Shaikh Sulṭān of Thānīsar and Mullā Sherī. These were assisted in their work by an equally large number of learned pandits, well-versed in Indian philosophy and sciences. Hindu Sanskrit scholars at the Mughal court were divided into five classes. Among the *first* class were " those who understood the mysteries of both the worlds ": *viz.*, (1) Madhū Saraswatī, (2) Madhūsūdhan, (3) Nārā'in (Asram?), (4) Hariji Sūr, (5) Damudar Bhat, (6) Rām Tirath, (7) Narasingh, (8) Parmindra and (9) Āditya.

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[42] *Ā'in-i-Akbarī.* (Blochmann), Vol. I. p. 110.

[43] *Ibid.* (Institute xxx), p. 606-682.

[44] *Ibid.* p. 111.

[45] The remuneration was probably paid only for the translations at the *Dār-ul-Inshā*, which were undertaken at the order of the Emperor. This is substantiated by the fact that while Faiḍī did not receive any remuneration for his mathnawī *Nal wa Daman* and the translation of the *Lilavatī*, Badaūnī was paid for the translation of 24,000 *ślokas* of the *Rāmāyaṇa* 150 ashrafis and 10,000 tanghas.

Among the *second* class were "those who understood the mysteries of the heart": *viz.*, (1) Rām Bhadra and (2) Jadrūp. Among the *third* class were "those who understood philosophy": *viz.*, (1) Nārā'in, (2) Madhū Bhat, (3) Sri Bhat, (4) Viśṇū Bhat, (5) Rām Kishan, (6) Balbhadr Miśra, (7) Vāsūdeva Miśra, (8) Baman Bhat, (9) Vidyā Niwās, (10) Gaurī Nāth, (11) Gopī Nāth, (12) Kishan Pandit, (13) Bhattacharya, (14) Bhāgirath Bhattacharya and (15) Kashī Nāth Bhattacharya. Among the fourth class were Hindu physicians: *viz.*, (1) Mahādeva, (2) Bhīm Nāth, (3) Nārā'in and (4) Śivaji. Among the *fifth* class were "such as understood sciences resting on testimony": *viz.*, Bijoy Sen and Bhān Chand. The Hindu court musicians were Bābā Rām Dās, Sūr Dās, Ranga Sen and the great Tān Sen.

The spirit underlying the translations made for Akbar.

The spirit underlying the translations made at the instance of Akbar, apart from the genuine love of the Muslims for studying Indian religion and sciences, had a definite political motive. It had very little, if any, spiritual background. In no way was it comparable to the semi-philosophical, semi-academic spirit of enquiry into ancient religions and sciences initiated at the Baghdād court in the 2nd century A. H. Abul Faḍl in his preface to the *Razmnāma*, a Persian translation of the *Mahābhārata* (*infra*), states the reasons which made Akbar order the translations of Indian religious works. Speaking of Akbar's liberal outlook, he observes that "having observed the fanatical hatred between the Hindus and the Muslims and being convinced that it arose only from mutual ignorance, that enlightened monarch wished to dispel the same by rendering the books of the former accessible to the latter. He selected, in the first instance, the *Mahābhārata* as the most comprehensive and that which enjoyed the highest authority, and ordered it to be translated by competent and impartial men of both nations. By this means he wished to show to the Hindus that some of their grossest errors and superstitions had no foundation in their ancient books, and to further convince the Muslims of their folly in assigning to the past existence of the world so short a span as seven thousand years."

It evolved a new cultural synthesis.

The spirit of enquiry initiated by Akbar proved a preliminary to the gradual evolution of Indo-Muslim thought during the next few centuries. It not only enriched Persian literature but also aroused the active interest of the Muslims in Indian religion and sciences. In the field of literature this interest was academic, but the psychological atmosphere created by various uniform spiritual elements of Vedāntism and Ṣūfism, the common efforts of Hindu-Muslim saints, brought about slowly and imperceptibly a process of new cultural synthesis.

A critical analysis of the translations.

It is interesting to make a critical analysis of the method and quality of the Persian translations as a whole. Generally speaking, from 826 A.H. to 1240 A.H.—the period when most of the important translations of Sanskrit works were undertaken—the Indian Epic, the *Mahābhārata* ran into 5 different, complete or abridged versions; the *Rāmāyana* into 6 (including 2 by Hindu translators); the Vedas into 1; the *Upanishads* into 1; the *Bhagwatgīta* into 4; the *Yoga-vasishṭa* into 4 (including 1 by a Hindu translator); the *Pañcatantra* into 6; the *Purānic* literature into 12; the *Sinhasanadvātrinśati* into 10 and the *Rājatarangini* into 6 different versions. Other Indian works chosen by the translators and compilers were those on Music, Medicine, Astronomy, Astrology, Mathematics, Mythological stories and heroic legends, Purānic myths, Hindu cosmogony, comparative religion, abstruse sciences and philosophy.

What actually is the contribution of this vast amount of Indo-Persian literature, it yet remains for scholars to

Two methods of translations.

decide. Nor can it be assumed safely that most of the translators did not labour under the disadvantage of unfamiliarity with Sanskrit. Their sources of information were two-fold: (1) the *Narrative Method*, i.e. the employment of a pandit by the translator to help him translate a Sanskrit work; (2) the *Re-translation Method*, i.e., to retranslate a Sanskrit work, making an early translation as the basis of the work. Both these methods were extremely unsatisfactory, as for instance, Abul Faḍl who has utilised both these methods, is subjected to a charge of plagiarism by Jarret on account of his constant use of the retranslation method.[46] The Narrative Method is equally unreliable. Abul Faḍl himself could not safely vouch for the accuracy of his Hindu informants. He observes that most of them were of a retrogade tendency, immeshed in their own views, artfully insinuating their own opinions, till the difficulty of arriving at any correct exposition of their systems left him in bewilderment and despair.[47]

The quality of the translations.

There is no doubt that the majority of Muslim translators had no actual knowledge of Sanskrit language and Indian philosophical terminology, yet, strange as it may appear, some of them have done remarkably accurate renderings of Sanskrit works with the assistance of Hindu interpreters. It is, therefore, wrong to make a categorical assertion that the translations of the Mughals are a mere mixture of gloss and text with a flimsy paraphrase of them both and that the translators are wholly unable, yet always pretend, to write Sanskrit words in Arabic letters.[48] It is true, that the ignorance of the subject has led some translators to misinterpret the actual text, but when most of these texts have been edited and both their literary and philological value realised, it shall equally be preposterous to assume that the scholar "who follows the muddy rivulets of Muslim writers on India, instead of drinking from the pure fountain of Hindu learning, will be in perpetual danger of misleading himself and others." [49]

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[46] *Vide*: *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*, Vol. II. p. 2.

[47] *Ibid.* Vol. III. p. 379 *ff*.

[48] *Vide*. Abul Faḍl's Chapter on the *Vyākaraṇa*. He lays down general rules, which may as well be taken as a basis, on which more or less, he seems to have been guided in the transliteration of Sanskrit terminology into Persian. Briefly these comprise of:

Abul Faḍl and Alberūnī.

In the exposition of the religious and philosophical doctrines of the Hindus, Abul Faḍl stands almost alone after Alberūnī. A genuine spirit of enquiry and love for knowledge vibrates through his detailed descriptions of Indian sciences, religious cults and philosophical schools of thought. He stands a good deal of comparison in many respects with Alberūnī. Both had associated with the leaders of contemporary Indian religious thought and scholars of Sanskrit literature, and both were equally fond of comparing Hindu philosophy with Muslim and Greek doctrines. Alberūnī's *Kitāb al-Hind* seems to be spontaneous and out-spoken in criticism, unfettered by any political objective, while Abul Faḍl, who wrote the *Ā'in-i-Akbarī* at Akbar's command, kept in view not only the Muslim intelligentsia of the time but also the fact that his readers include the Persianised Hindu court nobility. Alberūnī, while in India, applied himself to the study of Sanskrit works in the original, which made his critical mind 'not to accept blindly the traditions of the old.' He

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(*a*) 14 *svara* or vowels constituting of letters and diacritical accents; (b) 33 letters called *vyanjana* or consonants which cannot be sounded without a vowel; (c) 5 letters being *Anusvāra* (sounded like *kan* with quiescent nasal), *Visarga* (like the final *h* in *kah*), *Jivāmulīya* (a letter between *h* and *kh* and occours as medial and is sounded from the root of the tongue), *Gajakumla kṛiti* (a quiescent medial letter approximating in sound to a *bhā*), and *Ardhabinda* (a quiescent nasal like a suppressed *nūn*).

[49] *Ibid.* Jarret III, p. ii.

'sifted the wheat from the chaff and discarded everything which militates against the laws of nature and reason.'[50] Abul Faḍl, on the other hand, laboured under the disadvantage of little knowledge of Sanskrit. He admits that he was unfamiliar with the science of terms in the Sanskrit language, and being even unable to procure the services of a competent interpreter, he had to take the trouble of repeated translations.[51]

Ā'in-i-Akbarī: its preface.

In his Preface, he observes, that it was his main idea to bring into open evidence the system of philosophy, the degrees of self-discipline of the Hindus, in order that 'hostility towards them might abate and the temporal sword be stayed awhile from the shedding of blood, that discussions within and without be turned into peace and the thornbrake of strife and enmity bloom into a garden of concord. Assemblies for disscussion could then be formed and gatherings of science suitably convened'.[52] He deplores the dearth of accomplished linguists capable of mastering the intricacies of science and speculations of philosophy, notwithstanding the fact that 'through His Majesty's patronage of learning and his appreciation of merit, the erudite of all countries are assembled and apply themselves to the pursuit of the Truth.' Incidentally, he outlines the causes which lead to contention and hostility between the Hindus and the Muslims. *First*, the diversity of tongues and misapprehension of mutual purposes; *secondly*, the distance that separates the learned men of Hindustan from the scientific men of other nationalities; *thirdly*, the absorption of mankind in the delights of corporeal gratification and their 'moral obliquity'; *fourthly*, indolence; and *fifthly*, the imbecile procedure of restricted form of enquiry and investigation.

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[50] Sachau: *Alberūnī's India*, p. xxv.

[51] *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*, III, p. i.

[52] *Ibid.*

Abul Faḍl's persuit of Indian thought: intellectual and comparative.

Abul Faḍl's pursuit of Indian religious thought seems predominantly intellectual. According to him there are 360 systems of Indian philosophy and conduct, and he had mixed with many leaders of thought and made himself acquainted, to some extent, with the discussions of different schools. His treatise on the learning of the Hindus is fairly extensive and indicates the general interest of Muslim intellectuals during the later sixteenth century A.D In dealing with the origin, development and the influence of the doctrines of different schools of Indian philosophy, *viz.*, the *Nyāya* the *Vaiseshika*, the *Vedānta*, the *Miṃamsa*, the *Sānkhya*, the *Pātānjala*, the *Jaina*, the *Buddha*, and the *Nāstika*, he observes, that in setting down the series of fundamental systems for the benefit of real seekers of knowledge, ' it is my hope that inquirers may carefully study them and compare them with the principles of the Platonists, the Peripatetics, the Sufis and the dogmatic theologians.'

The 18 Sciences of the Hindus.

Among the eighteen sciences discussed by him are the *Vedas*, the *Purāns*, the *Dharma-Sāstras* or the Institutes of the Law, the *Siksha* or Phonetics, the *Kalpa* or the Science of Ceremonial Duties, the *Vyākarana* or the Science of Grammar and Linguistic Analysis, the *Nirukta* or the Vedic Etymologies, the *Jyotisha* or Astronomy, the *Chandas* or Metres and Classes of Verse, the *Āyur-Veda* or the Science of Anatomy, Hygiene, Nosology and Therapeutics, the *Dhanurveda* or the Science of Archery and Weapons, the *Gāndharva-Veda* or the Science of Music and the *Artha-Sāstra* or Economics. His account also deals with the Indian *Sangīta* or Music and Dancing, and *Rājnītī* or the Science of State-craft.

Apart from the above, Abul Faḍl has reviewed briefly the following arts and sciences cultivated widely among the Indians :—

Other arts and sciences.

(1) *The Karma-Vipāka* or the Ripening of Actions—'a Science revealing the particular class of actions performed in a former birth which have occasioned the events that befall men in the present life and prescribing the special expiation of each sin one by one.'

(2) The *Sāmudrika* or Palmistry.

(3) The *Gāruda* or the treatment of snake, scorpion or reptile bites 'by reciting and repeating of the genealogical descent of the victim.'

(4) *The Indra-Jāla* or the Art of Sorcery.

(5) The *Rasa-Vidyā* or Alchemy.

(6) The *Ratna-Parīkshā* or the art of testing precious stones.

(7) The *Kāma-Sāstra* or the Generation of the Human Race.

(8) The *Sāhitya* or the Art of Rhetorical Composition.

(9) The *Sangīta* or the Art of Music and Dance.

(10) The *Gaja-Sāstra* or the Knowledge of Elephants.

(11) The *Salihotra* or Veterinary Surgery.

(12) The *Vāstuka* or the Science of Architecture.

(13) The *Sūpa* or the Art of Cookery and Properties of Food.

(14) The *Rājanīti* or the Science of State-craft.

(15) The *Vyavahāra* or the Administration of Justice.

On the practical life of the Hindus.

Abul Faḍl also gives an account of the practical modes of life of the Hindus, which include the Four Periods of Religious Life, the worship of the Deity, the Divine worship (*Isvarapūjā*), the Sacrifice (*Yajña*), the Alms-giving (*Dāna*), the ceremonies in honour of the deceased ancestors (*Srāddha*) and the Incarnations of Deity, *viz.*, the *Matsyāvatāra* (Fish-Incarnation), the *Kūrmāvatāra* (Tortoise-

Incarnation), the *Vārāhāvtāra* (Boar-Incarnation), the *Nara-Sinha* (Man-Lion Incarnation), the *Vāmana* (Dwarf-Incarnation), etc., etc.

Among the translations of Abul Faḍl only two have survived : a prose Persian version of the *Bhāgwatgitā* and a modernised version of the Indian *Pañchatantra* with some additional chapters, made at the instance of Akbar in A.H. 996, under the title of *'Iyār-i-Dānis͟h*.

Among the important Sanskrit works translated into Persian during Akbar's reign is the *Tarjuma'i Mahābhārata* in 18 Parvas entitled the *Razmnāma*, made by the famous historian Mullā 'Abdul Qādir Badaūnī,[53] 'Abdul Laṭīf al-Ḥusainī known as Naqīb K͟hān,[54] Muḥammad Sulṭan Thānīsarī[55] and Mullā S͟herī.[56] The exact share of

The *Razmnāma* and its translators.

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[53] Mullā 'Abdul Qādir son of Shaik͟h Mulūk Shāh, the author of the *Muntak͟hab-ut-Tawārīk͟h*, was the eminent scholar, historian, astronomer and musician at Akbar's court. He translated the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and 2 *Parvas* of the *Mahābhārata* into Persian. For his other works and translations, vide. *Infra*, and also Blochmann's article an Badāūnī in the *J.R.A.S.* 1869, p. 20 *ff*.

[54] Naqib Khān is the title of Mīr Giāt͟h-ud-Dīn 'Alī, a grandson of Mīr Yaḥya, the philosopher-theologian *portégé* of S͟hāh Ṭahmāsp Ṣafwī. His father Mīr 'Abdul Laṭīf fled from Persia on account of his *Sunnī* views and came to India at Emperor Humāyūn's invitation. Naqīb Khān arrived in India with his father and at Akbar's accession, he distinguished himself in many battles. He was much favoured by the Emperor and soon "become his personal friend." For details, *vide*. the *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*, Vol. II. p. 23, 281 & Vol. III. p. 165, 293; also Badāūnī's *Muntak͟hab-ut-Tawārīk͟h*, Vol. II. p. 278.

[55] For his life, *vide*. the *Muntak͟hab-ut-Tawārīk͟h*, Vol. II. p. 278.

[56] Mullā S͟herī son of Mullā Yaḥya—a renouned theologian at Akbar's court was born in a S͟haik͟h family in Kokūwāl in the Punjab. According to Abul Faḍl, he presented in A.H. 992 a poem to Akbar entitled the *Hazār S͟hu'a* which contained 1000 *qata's* in praise of the sun (Vol. I. p. 679 *ff*.). He is also said to have translated the *Haribansa*, a book containing the life of Srī Krishna (*Ibid*. I. p. 112). He was killed in A.H. 994 along with Rājā Bīr Bar in the Khaybar expedition sent by Akbar against the Yūṣufza'is.

each scholar in the translation of the great Indian epic into Persian, cannot however be estimated.[57] M. Schulz has discussed the details and merits of the *Razmnāma* with a conjectural apportionment of the share of each of the translators.[58] Badaūnī, however, gives a more vivid detail of the history of the translation. According to him, for two nights Akbar himself translated some passages into Persian and told Naqīb K̲h̲ān to write down the general meaning. On the third night Badaūnī was associated with the former, and "after three or four months," he observes, "two of the eighteen chapters of these useless absurdities—enough to confound the eighteen worlds—were laid before His Majesty." The Emperor took exception to Badaūnī's translation and called him *Harāmk̲h̲ūr* and a turnip-eater (*S̲h̲algham-k̲h̲ūr*). Another part was subsequently translated by Naqīb K̲h̲ān and Mullā S̲h̲erī and another part by Sulṭān Ḥāji of Ṭhanīsar; then S̲h̲aik̲h̲ Faiḍī was appointed, who wrote two chapters, prose and poetry; then the Ḥājī wrote two other parts, adding a verbal translation of the parts that had been left out.

Badaūnī's account.

"He (the Ḥājī) then got a hundred *juz* together," continues Badaūnī, "closely written, so exactly rendered, that even the accidental dirt of the flies on the original was not left out; but he was soon after driven from the court and is now in Bhakkar. Other translators and interpreters, however, continue the fight between the Paṇḍūs and the Kurūs. May God Almighty protect those that are not engaged in this work and accept their repentance! and hear the prayer for pardon of every one who does not hide his disgust and whose heart rests in Islam; for, '*He allows men to return to Him in repentance*!' This *Razmnāma* was illustrated, and repeatedly copied; the grandees were ordered to make copies and Abul Faḍl wrote an introduction to it of about two *juz* . . . .''[59]

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[57] Rieu (*Catalogue of Persian MSS. in the British Museum*, I. p. 57) observes that the principal translator was Naqīb K̲h̲ān (*supra*).

[58] *Journal Asiatique*, Paris, Tome. VII. p. 110 *sq.*: '*Apercu-d'un memoire sur la traduction du Mahābharata, faite l'ordre de l'empereū-Akbar*'.

Naqīb Khān and Faiḍī's share.

From Badaūnī's account it is evident that the first two *Parvas* (each called a *fan* or a *daftar*) were translated by him and Naqīb Khan. The first of these two, styled as the *Adi-Parava*, was rewritten by Faiḍī at Akbar's order. It is, however, difficult to ascertain the exact number of *daftars* completed by Naqīb Khān and Mullā Sherī. Both in respect of them and that of Sulṭan Ḥajī of Thanīsar, Badaūnī only says that they completed a portion (*pārahā'i*). Then Shaikh Faiḍī translated two Paravas (*fans*) and thereafter, the Ḥajī completed two portions (*pārahā'i*), thus finishing the whole translation in 100 *juz*.

Other details.

It is, however, odd that in the colophon of one MS of the work in the India Office, it is distinctly stated that Naqīb Khan was the original translator, who completed his task in one year and a half, in the month of Sha'bān, A. H. 992 with the help of Brahman scholars *viz*., Devī Miśra, Satavadhana, Madhusūdana Miśra, Chaturhbuja and Bhavan.[60] Abul Faḍl wrote a Preface to the work, and his brother Faiḍī, the Poet, a few years later in 997 A. H. retranslated the literal version into ornamental and highly embellished prose,[61] but a MS. of Faiḍī's "poetical paraphrase " contains only two Paravas of the eighteen originally translated.[62]

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[59] *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh*, II. At the Emperor's remarks Badāūnī good-humouredly observed "Perhaps the share of this *faqīr* from these books amounted to this: "Whatever is in one's destiny, it reaches him!"

[60] Ethe: *Catalogue of Persian MSS. in India Office*, I, No. 1944.

[61] *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*, op. cit.

Mullā 'Abdul Qādir Badaūnī

Mullā 'Abdul Qādir Badaūnī (A.H. 947-1005) seems to be the principal translator of Sanskrit works on Hindu religion at the Emperor's court. His knowledge of Sanskrit language equally matched his dislike for the work undertaken at Akbar's behest; nonetheless, his genius as a historian, his profound scholarship, both in Arabic and Persian, his proficiency in Islamic theology, his knowledge of astrology, astronomy and mathematics, and his extraordinary skill both in Indian and foreign music,[63] out-weighed his innate prejudice against the Shaikh brothers. Though the Emperor found him "a sun-dried Mullā," he was highly pleased with his translations and would not part with him on that account.[64]

Badaūnī's description of the translation work.

Badaūnī is merciless in his critisim of the religious policy of Akbar, but an extreme sense of his "static position" before the "ever-rising star" of his former class-mates Faiḍī and Abul Faḍl, who successfully "turned the Emperor from Islam," made him lose his well-balanced historical mind to view things in detached dignity. Abul Faḍl, his benefactor, he found "officious, time-serving, openly faithless, continually studying His Majesty's whims, a flatterer beyond all bounds."[65] Faiḍī, the poet-laureate of Akbar, was to him "lewd in taste, raving in boastful verses and infidel scribblings, entirely devoid of love of the truth or the knowledge of God."[66] But among such lyrical outbursts, Badaūnī has given an excellent picture of the work of the translations carried on at the instance of Akbar. According to him, the translators worked in the library of the *Dīwan-khāna* at Fatehpur Sīkrī. "Low and mean fellows, who pretended to be learned but were in reality fools," gained an easy access to the Emperor. The principal reason "which led Akbar away from the right path," was that "a large number of learned men of all denominations and sects, came from various countries to the court and received personal interviews. Night and day people did nothing but inquire and investigate; profound points of science, the subtleties of revelation, the curiosities of history, the wonders of nature, of which large volumes could only give a summary abstract, were spoken of." Speaking of the Emperor's partiality for the Hindus, he observes that as the Sumanis and the Brahmans "surpass the learned men in their treatises on morals and on physical and religious sciences, they managed to get frequent interviews." The story of a Brahman named Purukhotam (Purushottam) is told, who was asked by the Emperor to 'invent particular Sanskrit names for all things in existence."[67]

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[62] Ethe: *op. cit.*

[63] *Vide. Mir'at-ul-'Ālam.*

[64] *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh*, Vol. II. p. 401.

[65] *Ibid.* p. 198. Abul Faḍl was among "the Hindu wretches and Hinduizing Muhammadans" who openly reviled our prophet. He is also compared to poet Ḥayratī of Samarqand, "who often having been annoyed by the cool and sober people of Transoxiana, joined the old foxes of *Shi'itic* Persia and chose the roadless road. You might apply the proverb to him: "He prefers Hell to shame on earth." *Ibid.* p. 256.

Persian translation of the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

The Persian translation of Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa was begun by Badaūnī[68] in the year A. H. 992 and completed in four years' time in the year A.H. 997. According to Bakhtāwar Khān, for translating the *Rāmāyaṇa* from Sanskrit into Persian, he received for 24,000 ślokas,

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[66] In intemperate language and abusive epithets, no historian can perhaps match the sharp-tongued Mullā, who has reviled his old class-mate Faiḍī, while the latter lay at his death-bed, and has even collected abusive chronograms after his death to show that others also shared his intense hatred of the poet-laureate of Akbar.

[67] Vide. *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh*, p. 256 *ff*.

[68] *Ibid.*

150 Ashrafīs and 10,000 Tanghas.[69] Badaūnī says that when the translation was completed in the month of Jumāda I, A. H. 997, it was highly commended by the Emperor who enquired into its details. The preliminary rendering, amounting to 72 *juz*, grew into 120 *juz* in the second comprehensive translation. He was loath to write a preface to the translation but at the Emperor's command he found no way out but to comply. "I seek God's protection," he says, "for that cursed writing which is as wretched as the parchment of my life. The reproduction of *kufr* (infidelity) does not amount to *kufr*. I utter word in refutation of *kufr*, for, I fear, lest this book written at the order (of the Emperor), entirely under compulsion, might bear the print of hatred. O my God! I take thy shelter for attributing anything as a partner to Thee; and I know, and I beseech Thy pardon for that which I do not know; and having repented I say: '*There is no God but Allāh and Muḥammad is the Apostle of Allāh.*' This repentance of mine is not that of (one who is in) adversity. May it be approved in the court of the All-Giver, Forgiver.'"[70]

Rieu's criticisms of the translation.

Badaūnī's translation of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, according to Rieu is far from literal. "The wordy exuberance of the original is much reduced, but the substance of the narrative is faithfully rendered. Some explanations respecting Indian traditions are added by the translator, who speaks of what the Hindus assert in the tone of one who does not belong to them."[71] In his lengthy introduction, he details Vālmīki's dialogue with Nārada, the invention of the *śloka* and the composition of the poem, its recitation by Kusa and Lava, its division into 7 *kāndas*, each subdivided into numerous *adhyāyas*, and the summary of their contents.

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[69] *Mir'at-ul-'Ālam.*

[70] *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh*, II. p. 128.

[71] *Cat. of Persian MSS. in the British Museum*, Vol. I. p. 55: *or* 1248.

Besides Badaūnī's translation, there are at least four other abridged Persian versions of the *Rāmāyaṇa* extant.

Other Persian versions of the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

The *first* is an abridged prose translation by Shandraman Kāyath b. Śrī Rām made in 'Ālamgīr's reign in A.H. 1097 (A.D. 1686).[72] This translation was probably completed in A.H. 1107, as the concluding *kāṇḍa* gives the date of 11th of D͟hū-alqa'dah A.H. 1107 (June 12, 1696). There are two supplements to this version of the *Rāmāyaṇa*: (1) a sort of appendix to the *Rāmāyaṇa* ascribed to the authorship of Vālmīki, dated the 25th of D͟hū-alqa'dah A.H. 1107; and (2) a legend of Srī Krishna due to Vyāsa from the *Mahābhārata*. The *second* is entitled the *Mat͟hnawī'i Rāmāyin*—an abridged Persian version in 5900 mat͟hnawī verses by Girdhardās Kāyath completed in A.H. 1033 and dedicated to Emperor Jahāngīr. The *third* is another abridged poetical translation of the *Rāmāyaṇa* entitled *Rām wa Sīta* by S͟haik͟h Sa'dullah Masīḥ of Pānīpat, a contemporary of Girdhardās (*supra*). This translation was also completed in Jahāngīr's reign, who is praised in the work.[73] The *fourth* is a very large, though incomplete, poetical translation of the Rāmāyaṇa by an anonymous writer.[74]

The translation of the *Atharva-Veda*.

Badaūnī remarks[75] that in the year A.H. 983 (A.D. 1575) a learned Brahman, who had embraced Islam and took the name of S͟haik͟h Bhawan, came from Deccan. The Emperor commanded Badaūnī the same year to translate the *Atharban*. While translating the work he found "several of the religious precepts of this book resemble the laws of Islam," but there were many difficult passages which hampered his task of interpretation. He referred these passages to Shaikh Bhawan who also could not interpret either. Badaūnī reported the matter to His Majesty who ordered Shaikh Faiḍī and Ḥājī Ibrāhīm to translate. The latter though willing did not write anything.[76] Any other translation of the *Atharva-Veda*, so far is known, does not exist. Even Badaūnī's translation is very scarce; at least, I have not been able to find any MS. of it. Speaking of the work, he observes: "Among the precepts of the *Atharban* there is one which says that no man will be saved unless he read a certain passage. This passage contains many times the latter 'I' and resembles very much our *Lā ilāh illallāh*."

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[72] Ethe: *Cat. of Persian MSS. in India Office*, Vol. I. No. 1964; Reiu: Vol. I. p. 56a; also *Mackenzie Collection*, Vol. II. p. 144.

[73] Ethe: No. 1967; Rieu: III, col. 1078b; also *Cat. of Persian MSS. in the Bodelian Library* (Oxford), No. 1315.

[74] Ethe: I. No. 1970.

[75] *Muntak͟h-ut-Tawārīk͟h*, Vol. p. 212.

Various Persian translations of the *Sinhasanadvatrinsati*.

'Abul Qādir's translation of the famous *Sinhasanadvatrinsati* or the *Vikramacaritram* (styled often as the *Singhāsan Battīsī*), entitled the *Khirad Afzā'*, made at the order of Akbar with the help of a learned Brahman[77] in the year A. H. 982 (A. D. 1574—75) is perhaps the oldest translation from the original Sanskrit. Another rendering of the same work, likewise composed under Akbar's order, is by one Chaturbhujdās b. Miharchand Kāyath under the title of the *Shāhnāma*.[78] Many other Persian translations of the *Sinhasandvatrinsati*, though under different names, are still extant. During Emperor Jahāngīr's reign (A.H. 1019) one Bharimal b. Rājmal Khatrī translated it under the name of *Singhāsan Battīsi*

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[76] It is difficult to ascertain the truth of Badaūnī's statement in the face of clear assertion by Abul Faḍl that the entire work was translated by Ḥājī Ibrāhīm. *Vide. Ā'in-i-Akbarī*, Vol. I. p. 112.

[77] *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh*, Vol. I. p. 67.

[78] *Catalogue of Persian MSS. in the Bodleian Library*, MS. No. 1324.

(also entitled *Qiṣṣa'i Bikramājīt*).[79] Another translation under the title of *Kishan-Bilās* was made by Kishandās b. Mulūkchand, probably during Jahāngīr's reign.[80] A combination of the two older versions of Chaturbhujdās and Bharimal was made during the reign of Emperor Shāh Jahān by one Bisbarā'i b. Harīgarbdās.[81] Four other different versions of the work are: (1) by Chānd b. Mādurām;[82] (2) by an anonymous writer under the title of *Gul Afshār*,[83] (3) by an anonymous writer without any title;[84] and (4) a modern version by Sayyid Imdād 'Alī and Shiv Sahā'i Kāyath[85] made in the year A.D. 1845.

The *Rajataranginī*.

According to Badaūnī, the *Rajataranginī* had already been translated at the order of Sultan Zain al-'Ābdīn Shāh of Kashmir (A. H. 826—877). This version entitled the *Baḥar al-Asmār*, was incomplete and, written in old Persian, was little known. At first Badaūnī was asked by the Emperor to complete the work by translating two of the remaining chapters left out by the author of the *Baḥar al-Asmār*.[86] The entire work comprising of 60 *juz* was finished by him in 5 months. One night after he had listened to some chapters of the work, Akbar ordered him to retranslate the earlier portion also in a plain language. Badaūnī received a reward of 10,000 tanghas murādī and a horse on its completion.[87] In Ethe's opinion, Mullā Shāh Muḥammad and not Badaūnī was commanded by Akbar in A.H. 998 to translate the work from original Sanskrit; the latter only revised the above version in A.H. 999.[88]

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[79] W. Pertsch: *Berlin Catalague*, p. 1034.

[80] Ethe: *Catalogue of Persian MSS. in India Office*, I, 1989.

[81] Rieu: *Catalogue of Persian MSS. in British Museum*, II. p, 763a.

[82] *Vide*. A.F. Mehrn, p. 29.

[83] Rieu: Vol. I. 230a.

[84] E. G. Browne: *Cambridge Catalogue*, p. 398.

[85] Rieu: III. 1006b.

[86] *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh*, Vol. II. p. 401-2.

[87] *Ibid.*

Various other Persian versions of the work.

There are many other Persian translations of the work, mostly adaptations of the oldest version from original Sanskrit retranslated by Mullā Badaūnī. One is the *Bahāristān-i-Shāhī*, a history of Kashmir by an anonymous writer, brought down to A.H. 1023, the eighth year of Jahāngīr's reign;[89] and another entitled the *Tārīkh-i-Kashmīr* commenced on the basis of the *Rajatarangini* by Ḥaider Malik b. Ḥasan Malik from the earliest times down to the twelfth year of Jahāngīr's reign;[90] another also called the *Tārīkh-i-Kashmīr*, a prototype of the preceding, by Nāra'in Kul 'Ājiz, a Brahman of Kashmir who composed it in A.H. 1122[91] and another styled as *Wāqi'āt-i-Kashmīr* (written about A. H. 1160) by an unknown writer with many chapters, having been translated from the original Sanskrit work of Kalhana.[92]

Faiḍī and his translations from Sanskrit.

The poet-laureate of Akbar's court, Faiḍī (b. A.H. 854, d. A.H. 1004),[93] a man of versatility and all-round accomplishments, was in constant association with the court-translators. His poetical genius found its material of rare romantic charm from the pages of the Indian Epic—the *Mahābhārata*. In gracefulness of thought and beauty of expression, his 4,200 verse mathnawī, the *Nal wa Daman,* 'a free Persian adaptation' of the story of Nala and Damyantī, composed in A.H. 1003, in the short space of 5 months, still remains a work of great style and diction. According to Badaūnī,[94] when it was presented to Akbar formally, it was included among the set of books read at the court, and Naqīb Khān was appointed to read it to His Majesty. The poetical merits of the *Nal wa Daman* have even appealed to the Mullā. "It is indeed, a mathnawī," he observes,[95] "the like of which for the last three hundred years, no poet of India after Amīr Khusrau of Delhi, has composed."

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[88] Ethe: *Cat. of Pers. MSS. in India Office*, Vol. I. No. 58 *ff.* also Rieu: I. p. 296.

[89] Rieu: I.p. 227.

[90] *Ibid.*, also *vide*. Bod. Cat. Nos. 316-17; J. Aumer: p. 98 and *J.R.A.S.B.*(New Series), No. 68, 409-460.

[91] G. Flugel, II, p. 191 also Rieu, I, p. 298.

[92] Ethe: I. No. 513.

[93] For his life and works, vide, the *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*, (Blochmann), I. p. 490 *sq.*, 548 *sq.*, *Ouseley*: *Biographical Notices*, p. 171-75; Elliot: *Biographical Index*, I. p. 255 and other poetical *Tadhkiras, particularly the Sh'ir-ul-'Ajam*, Vol. III, p. 31-81.

His interest in Sanskrit literature.

Faiḍī's interest in Sanskrit literature is apparent from the fact that he improved upon the prosaic version of the *Mahābhārata* himself contributing the translation of two *paravas* to the *Razmnāma*[96]; versified the *Bhagwatgīta* into Persian, made a Persian translation of Bhaskara Āchārya's famous work on arithmetic and geometry, entitled the *Lilavatī,*[97] at Akbar's order in A.H. 995, and made a Persian prose translation of Somadeva's famous collection of stories entitled the *Katha Sarit Sangra.*[98]

The *Shāriq al-Ma'rifat.*

But perhaps, the most original work on Indian thought by Faiḍī is the *Shāriq al-Ma'rifat* or the *Sun of Gnosticism* —a treatise on the Vedānta philosophy, based entirely on Sanskrit sources, mostly on the *Yoga-Vasishta* and the *Bhāgwat-*

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[94] *Vide the Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh,* Vol. II. p. 306.

[95] *Ibid.*

[96] Faiḍī evidently polished the prosaic version of (the first) two *paravas,* each called a fan. See also Razmnāma (*supra*).

[97] Faiḍī's translation of the *Lilavatī* has been published at Calcutta in 1828. For the merits of the work as translated by Faiḍī, *vide* the *Asiatic Researches,* Vol. XII, p. 158-185; also Colebrooke's *Miscellaneous Essays,* Vol. II. p. 419-450.

[98] Ethe: *Cat. of Persian MSS. in the India Office,* No. 1987.

Purāṇa. It is divided into the following twelve Flashes (*Lama'āt*):

The *first lam'a* deals with the greatness of Lord Krishna, and a description of the application of the *Yogic* practices.

The *second lam'a* gives a description " that all worldly lights (*nūrhā'i 'ālam*) resemble darkness before that Illumined One embracing all lights (*Munawwari ki muḥīṭ-i-hama nūrhā ast*).

The *third lam'a* deals with the Essence of human Body (*Dar bayān-i-māhīyat-i-qālib-i-insānī*).

The *fourth lam'a* deals with the condition of the disciple (*murīd*) who sets out on the path of the *Yoga*.

The *fifth lam'a* gives a description of the Essence of God (*Dhāt*) and the Essence of His Attributes.

The *sixth lam'a* deals with the knowledge of the Absolute Essence.

The *seventh lam'a* gives a description of the Attributes of the Absolute Essence. It also deals with some *Yogic* practices.

The *eighth lam'a* deals with the quality of human structure which is qualified as the '*Ālam-i-ṣaghīr*.

The *ninth lam'a* gives a description that the seeker ultimately becomes initiated into the mysteries of the Self.

The *tenth lam'a* deals with the renunciation of the desires and also of the growth of the attachment and also of the actions and their outcome, so that 'perfect detachment (*tajrīd*) might be acquired.'

The *eleventh lam'a* is on the description that 'whatever is action (*fi'l*) is perishable, and that the body itself is the result of 'action' and has emanated out of 'action,' and that the soul which is the agent (*fā'il*) is imperishable and eternal.

The *twelfth lam'a* is on the description that the worshipper of the real God in certainty reaches perfection.

Translations of the Purāṇas and other religious works.

Of the large number of works on Indian religion and sciences, written or translated by Muslims, few can however be mentioned at this place. The translation of the Purāṇic literature include that of the *Haribansa-Purāṇa* by an anonymous author;[99] the *Bhāgwata-Purāṇa* by Ṭāhir b. 'Imād in A.H. 1011 at the instance of Akbar; the *Mahā-Visṇū Purāṇa* containing dialogues between Pārasara and Maitereya;[100] the *Visṇū-Purāṇa* (abridged translation); *Shiva-Purāṇa*;[101] the *Skanda-Purāṇa* entitled *Kshetra Mahatam*[102] and the *Purāṇthaprakasa*. Among other works are a Persian translation of the *Amrtkuṇda*, on the religious and philosophical doctrines of the Hindus *viz.*, *Baḥr-ul-Ḥayāt* by Muḥammad of Gāwāliār.‡ This work had already been translated into Arabic during Sultan 'Alā-ud-Dīn's reign by a newly converted Brahman named Kārnāma (?). A Persian translation of the *Hitopdeśa* was made by Tāj-ud-Dīn.[103] Zain-ud-Dīn 'Ali Rasā'ī compiled a code of Hindu laws from original Sanskrit sources;[104] a full account of the creeds, traditions, and sects of the Hindus (and Muslims) of India by Muḥammad Ḥasan Qatīl in his work the *Haft-Tamāsha*, and a Persian translation of a Sanskrit poetical work on Islamic theology and science, styled as *Khūb-Tarang*, compiled by Shaikh Kamāl Muḥammad in A.H. 984.[105]

Among other notable translations are that of Bhāskar Āchāraya's Sanskrit treatise on Algebra and Mensuration, the *Bijagunīta* by 'Atā-ullāh Rashīdī in A.H. 1044, and

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[99] Ethe: I. 1851.

[100] *Bodleian Catalogue*, 1318-19.

[101] W. Pertsch, *Berlin Catalogue*, p. 1028.

[102] Ethe: 1860.

† *Ibid*, 2002.

[103] Garchin de Tassy: *Hist. de la litter* etc. p. 188.

[104] Rieu: I, 63b.

[105] Ethe: I, 2006.

Mukammal Khān Gujrātī's translation of the *Tājak*, an astronomical work into Persian. The most important work on Indian system of medicine was compiled by Muḥammad Qāsim Farishta (d. 1033 A.H.) entitled the *Dastūr-ul-Aṭibbā*.

Works on Indian Music.

Indian music received the special attention of Muslim writers. Abul Faḍl remarks that distinguished Indian musicians at the Mughal court included Mirza Tān Sen (d. 997 A.H.), "a musician like whom has not appeared in the last thousand years," Rām Dās, Kalawant and Bābā Har Dās. Both Akbar and Shāh Jahān were great lovers of Music, and at the order of the latter, all genuine *Dhurpads* of the famous Indian musician Bakshawa of Gawāliār were collected in a work entitled the *Rāghā'i Hindī*. In 1076 A.H., Faqīrullāh translated Indian musical modes and melodies from the original Sanskrit work the *Rāga-Darparṇa* into Persian. During 'Ālamgīr's reign, the translation of a Sanskrit work on Indian music entitled the *Tarjuma'i Parijataka* was made by Mirza Raushan Ḍamīr, who calls himself "a born slave of Emperor 'Ālamgīr." Many other smaller treatises on music based on Indian sources or translations from Sanskrit are extant. A tract known as the *Rāgmālā* on Indian rāgs and *rāganīs* written in A.H. 1188, and a collection of Indian *rāganīs* in Rekhta, Braj, Panjabi and Persian made a little later. Three other works written in the 12th century deserve mention: (1) the *Kanz al-Mūsīqī*, a repertory on Indian music, Hindi *dhoras* mixed with Persian verses; (2) *Shams al-Aṣwāt*, a treatise on Indian music compiled in 1109 A.H., and (3) the *Mufarriḥ al-Qulūb* by Ḥasan 'Ali 'Izzat of Deccan at the order of Tipū Sultan (A.H. 1197—1213) completed in A.H. 1199.

During the reign of 'Ālamgīr, Mirza Fakhr-ud-Dīn Muḥammad made a serious attempt at the scientific presentation of Indian arts in his encylopeadic work

The *Tuḥfat-ul-Hind.*

the *Tuḥfat-ul-Hind*, written at the order of Kukaltāsh Khān for the Emperor's son prince Mu'īz-ud-Dīn Jahāndār Shāh. It deals with the Indian system of Writing, the principles of orthography, prosody (*piṅgala*), rhyme (*tuk*), rhetorics (*alaṅkārā*), love and lovers (*sṛṅgāra-rasa*), music (*saṅgīta*), science of sexual enjoyment (*kok*), physiognomy (*sāmudrika*) and an Indo-Persian lexican and terminology.

Dārā Shikūh's approach of Indian philosophy.

We have already outlined briefly Dārā Shikūh's interest in Hinduism and his approach towards Indian philosophy.[106] Two things are clear from the study of his works on Hinduism and his translations from Sanskrit. *First*, his pursuit of Indian religious thought was intuitive, with a spiritual background; it was neither academic, nor intellectual, nor, as some think, it had any political motive. As he himself observes,[107] it was a part of " his desire for investigation of the Truth." *Secondly*, its comparative value was confined, unlike Badaūnī and Abul Faḍl, to Islamic thought only—mostly in the details of technical terms and not of any major speculative problems. Thus, in the first place, we find that his 'word for word' translation of the Upanishads was made "for his own spiritual benefit and for the religious advancement of his children, friends and seekers of the Truth".[108] Similarly he remaks in the *Majma'-ul-Baḥrain* that his researches (in comparative study) were according to his own intuition and taste, for the benefit of the members of his family and that he had no concern with the common folk of either community.[109] He does not find disavowal of the Truth in Hinduism and the *Vedas* appear to him as " the essence of monotheism." The monotheistic philosophy of the Upanishads, he thinks, is "in conformity with the holy *Qur'ān* and a commentary thereon."[110] And he comes to the conclusion that in the Upanishads, "the verses of the holy *Qur'ān* are literally found."[111]

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[106] *Supra*. Chapt. I. (*Introductory*); as also Chapts. IX—XII, *Infra*.

[107] *Sirr-i-Akbar*, preface.

[108] *Ibid*.

[109] *Majma'-ul-Baḥrain*, p. 38.

His works on Hinduism and translations from Sanskrit.

Dārā Shikūh's translations from Sanskrit include that of the Upanishads, entitled the *Sirr-i-Akbar* (wr. 1067 A.H.), the *Bhāgwat-gīta* (*wr. between* 1065-67), and a translation of the *Yoga-Vasistha* made at his instance. His other works on Hinduism are the *Majma'-ul-Baḥrain*, a comparative study of Hinduism and Islam; and the *Mukālama* or Seven Dialogues on comparative mythology with a Hindu saint named Lāl Dās. The *Risāla'i Ḥaq Numā*, though a treatise on Sufic practices, shows distinct signs of the influence of the Indian Yoga philosophy. Dārā Shikūh claims that he had read a Persian translation of the *Yoga-Vasistha* by Shaikh Ṣūfī—probably by Ṣūfī Sharīf Qubjahānī *ent.* the *Tuḥfa'i Majlis*, based on the *Yogavāsishṭhasāras*—prior to A.H. 1066, when he ordered a retranslation of the work. Some of the physical exercises detailed in the *Risāla*, *e.g.*, the *Ḥabs-i-dam*, the *āwurd-burd*, the astral healing, the centres of meditation in the heart and brain etc., bear a close resemblence to the Hindu *Tāntric* meditations. The *Sālik's* journey through the four worlds of *Nāsūt*, *Jabrūt*, *Malakūt* and *Lāhūt*, for instance, is compared by him to the Indian *Avasthātman* or the four worlds of *Jāgrat*, *Swapna*, *Susupatī* and *Turīya*.[112] The *Majma'-ul-Baḥrain*, written in 1065 A.H., prior to the translation of the Upanishads, shows clearly that by that time Dārā Shikūh had acquired considerable knowledge of Hindu—Yogic and Vedānta—philosophy, together Sanskrit technical vocabulary of Indian mythology and cosmology, etc. which would enable him to make a comparative study of the same with their equivalents from Islamic thought. Thus we find, that he has dealt with the identical conceptions of Elements, Senses, Devotional Exercises, Soul, Air, Sound, Vision of God, Skies, Earth, Resurrection, etc. in both the religions. The *Mukālama Bābā Lāl* wa *Dārā Shikūh* shows the same comparative spirit and his knowledge of Indian mythology and some aspects of the speculative philosophy of the Hindus.

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[110] *Sirr-i-Akbar*, op. cit.

[111] *Ibid.*

[112] *Majma'-ul-Baḥrain*, Bib. Ind. p. 46.

His knowledge of Sanskrit.

Dārā Shikūh's knowledge of Sanskrit language, notwithstanding the fact that he employed a large number of Sanskrit Pandits in the translation of the Upanishads, appears to be very considerable. It is not known as to how many Sanskrit works he had read in the original. Stray references in some contemporary works allude to his keen appreciation of Sanskrit poetry. A delightful story tells how being pleased with the Sanskrit poetry of his favourite poet Jagannāth Miśra, Dārā Shikūh promised to give him anything he asked for.[113] Many contemporary Sanskrit poets, including Kavīndracarya, Kavī Harīrām and others have showered great praises on him for his learning and patronage of Sanskrit poetry.[114] Nothing, however, is known of the actual scope of his studies in the field of Sanskrit literature and philosophy, either from contemporary Sanskrit writers or

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[113] *Medeaval Indian Mysticism*, London, p. 143 *sq.*

[114] *Vide.* the *Kavindracandrodaya* (Poona, 1939) : An anthology of addresses presented to Kavindracarya, the poet-scholar 'of the house of Dārā Shikūh, by 69 pandits of Benares and Prayag and for the poet's successful persuation of Emperor Shāh Jahān to abolish the pilgrim tax on Allahabad and Benraes. For a complete list of the names of the pandits, many of whom refer to Shāh Jahān and Dārā Shikūh in most eulogising language, *vide.* preface to the work (p. xv *ff.*).

Persian historians. Unless such evidence is forthcoming, his knowledge of Sanskrit literature can only be based on the internal evidence of his works on Hinduism—his intimate acquaintence of Hinduism, particularly Hindu mythology as evidenced from the *Mukālama*; of traces of Hindu gnosticism from the *Risāla'i Ḥaq Numā'*; of the technical Sanskrit philosophical vocabulary from the *Majma'-ul-Baḥrain*; of the Vedāntic and philosophical terminology, cosmogonic myths, legends, mystic interpretations and the symbolicisms in the intricate Āraṇyakas and Brahmāṇas from the *Sirr-i-Akbar*. P. K. Gode of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute claims to have discovered a Sanskrit work (?) of Dārā Shikūh, entitled the *Samudrasaṅgama* (Mingling of the Two Oceans) in the form of a MS. dated 1708 A.D. I do not know on which basis he claims it to be a Sanskrit work of the prince. It would be a rare find if the work does not happen to be a Sanskrit translation of the *Majma'-ul-Baḥrain* (Mingling of the Two Oceans).

Sanskrit scholars associated with Dārā Shikūh.

Dārā Shikūh was associated with many Sanskrit scholars and his intimate knowledge of Hinduism may be the result of that contact. In the Preface to the *Sirr-i-Akbar*, he observes that the city of Benares " the centre of the sciences of this (Hindu) community" was "in certain relation with him."[115] Bernier tells us that "a large staff of Benares Pandits"[116] was presumably brought to Delhi for the purpose of helping him in the translation of the Upanishads. It is, however, difficult to ascertain the names of the Sanskrit scholars and their exact share in the translation. Nearly all Persian and Sanskrit sources are silent in this respect and the meagre information like that of Mirza Muḥammad

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[115] *Op. cit.*

[116] *Travels*. p. 323, ns, *ff*.

Kāẓim that "he was constantly in the society of Brahmans, jogis and sannyasis"[117] does not lead us anywhere. From the chroniclers of the Mughal period, we gather that at the Delhi Imperial court many eminent Sanskrit scholars were employed and maintained by the Emperors Akbar, Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān.[118] Among those, who were at the court of S͟hah Jahān were Panacharaj of Benares and Phatan Miśra, former *protégés* of Jahāngīr; Harnāth on whom S͟hāh Jahān conferred the title of *Mahāpātra*, Kavindracarya Sarasvatī on who the Emperor conferred the title of *Sarva-vidyānidhāna*; Vamsidha Miśra, and Jagannāth (Miśra ?) of whom it is said that he "was once weighed with silver at the Emperor's order, and the money was given to him as a reward.[119] Jagannāth was also given the title of *Mahākabrai* (poet-laureate) by the Emperor. Another Benares Pandit (probably Kavindracarya, *Infra*) was granted a pension of Rs. 2,000. Other Sanskrit scholars who were directly in the pay of prince Dārā S͟hikūh included:

(1) Banvalī Dās, with the *nom de plume* of *Valī*, a muns͟hī of Dārā S͟hikūh. He was a bi-lingual scholar in Persian and Sanskrit and remained in the service of the prince for a long time. His works include the *Rajavalī* (Rieu: II : 855a iii), a historical work on the Delhi kings from Yudhistra to S͟hāh Jahān and a mat͟hnawī (Sprenger : *Oude. Cat.* p. 589).

(2) Jagannāth Miśra, the eminent Sanskrit poet and scholar on whom S͟hāh Jahān bestowed the title of *Panditrājā*. He was attached to the court of

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[117] *'Ālamgīrnāmā.*

[118] *Bibiliography of Mughal India*, (Karnatak Publishing House), Appendix III p. 154-65. on the *Sanskrit Writers of Mughal Period.* Among those who lived during S͟hāh Jahān's reign the names of 63 writers are recorded. Some of these, atleast, appear to have connection with the Mughal court.

[119] *Tad͟hkira'i 'Ulamā'i Hūnūd* (Cawnpore) p. 31.

Dārā Shikūh, who was a great admirer of his poetry. Among his works is the *Jagatsimha* containing eulogies of Dārā Shikūh and the *Āṣif-vilāsa* devoted to the praise of Āṣif Khān, brother of Nūr Jahān. So attached was the pandit to the prince that after the latter's execution in 1659 A.D., he left the Mughal court and retired to Muttra.

(3) Chander Bhān Brahman, another munshi of Dārā Shikūh, who translated for him the *Mukālama* into Persian. (For his life etc. see. *Infra*, Chapter XI, f. n. 16 and 17).

(4) Kavīndracarya Sarasvatī of Benares, whose connection with the Mughal court and his great influence with Shāh Jahān and Dārā Shikūh is established from the Sanskrit anthology *Kavīndracandrodaya*. Gode[120] has identified him with Bernier's "most celebrated pandit in all Indies," who "belonged to the house-hold of Dārā Shikūh." He was an honoured person at the court and led a deputation of Benares pandits before the Emperor to seek the abolition of Pilgrim Tax on Benares and Allahabad. Shāh Jahān conferred upon him the title of *Sarvavidyānidhāna* and also gave him a pension of Rs. 2,000.

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[120] *Kavīndracarya Sarasvati at the Mughal Court*: *vide.* the Annals of Sri Venkateswara Oriental Institute, Vol. I. part, 4.

CHAPTER IX

THE MAJMAʻ-UL-BAḤRAIN

کفر و اسلام در رہش پویاں   وَحدہٗ لاشریک لہٗ گویاں

"Islam and Infidelity are both galloping on the way towards Him, exclaiming: *'He is One and none shares His sovereignty'.*"

". . . . . it (*Majmaʻ-ul-Baḥrain*) is a collection of the truth and wisdom of two truth-knowing groups."

—DĀRĀ SHIKUH—

The Majmaʻ-ul-*Baḥrain.*

The *Majmaʻ-ul-Baḥrain* or "the Mingling of the Two Oceans" was finished by Dārā Shikūh in the year 1065 A.H., corresponding to the forty-second year of the author[1], two years before he undertook the monumental work, the *Sirr-i-Akbar* or "the Great Secret," a Persian translation of the Upanishads. Though a treatise on the technical terms of Indian pantheism and their equivalents in Ṣūfi phraseology, poor in spirit, largely verbal and devoid of any deep insight or great spirituality, it is a work of utmost interest to a student of comparative religion, as it embodies an attempt of its own kind to reconcile the doctrines of two apparently divergent religions. It tries to show the similarity and identity between Hinduism and Islam and brings out the points where the two oceans of religious thought meet.

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[1] *Majmaʻ-ul-Baḥrain*, (Bib. Ind.), p. 116:

والحمد للہ والمنۃ کہ توفیق اتمام رسالۂ مجمع البحرین یافتہ شد، در سنہ یک ہزار و شصت و پنج ہجری نبوی کہ
چہل و دوم از سنین عمر این فقیر بی اندوہ محمد دارا شکوہ بود۔

The character of the work.

The absence of the glow of true inspiration and the poverty of the quality of the text, suggests to Johan Van Manen,[2] a measure of prudence and caution on the part of Dārā Shikūh who was later on executed as a heretic on its account, but this matter-of-fact substance and the terminological comparisons, considered with his other pronouncements on his religious belief, do not indicate that he was mindful of the dire consequences. Even in the present work, he gives expression to his sentiments freely. "Mysticism is equality," he says,[3] "it is abandonment of (religious) obligations." At another place he expresses his own attitude in search of the Truth by voicing what Khwāja Aḥrār said : " If I know that an infidel, immersed in sin, is in a way, singing the note of monotheism, I go to him, hear him and am grateful to him." [4] Keeping fully in view the nature of the work, it leaves much scope of any doubt on the matter. This is what he himself says: "O my friend, whatever I have recorded . . . . is the outcome of much painstaking and considerable research and is in accordance with my own inspiration, which although you may not have read in any book or heard from anyone, is also in confirmity with the two (given in the context) verses of the holy Qur'ān. Now if this exposition is distasteful to certain worthless fellows, I entertain no fear on that account: '*Then surely Allāh is Self-sufficient, above any need of the worlds.*" [5]

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[2] *Ibid.*, p. vi.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 80.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 115. :

ای عزیز آنچه درین باب نوشته شد، بعد از دقتِ تمام و تحقیق بسیار، مطابق کشف خود است و این کشف باین دو آیهٔ کریمه مطابق اُفتد، باآنکه تو در هیچ کتابی ندیده و از هیچکس نشنیده - اگر بر گوشِ بعضی از ناقصان گران آید، مارا ازین معنی باکی نیست - فَاِنَّ اللّٰهَ غَنِیٌّ عَنِ الْعٰلَمِیْنَ ....

Its great human interest.

Much can be said on the points of difference of the religious doctrines of the two, and some of the identical enunciations and definitions as given by Dārā S͟hikūh, can be easily refuted by the learned scholars on both sides, as for instance, the Islamic view of *rūḥ* (soul) is fundamentally dissimilar to that of the Vedāntist. The former does not consider the soul as reality or believe in its association and identification with God, and that *nafs* (self) is sharply differentiated from *rūḥ* (soul), while in the Upanishads, the central doctrine seeks to establish *Ātmāṇ* as the sole reality and the realisation of Brahmāṇ as *Ātmāṇ* is emphasised. This and such other points of essential dissimilarity of doctrines are strikingly evident from the *Majma‘-ul-Baḥrain*, but the real appreciation of the attempt lies in the great human interest shown by Dārā S͟hikūh, apart from the fundamental divergencies of philosophical speculations, in the identical conception of Divinity Ressurrection, *Muktī* and *Nejāt*, *Bahis͟ht* and *Swargaloka*, God's attributes, the Vision of God, the Divisions of Universe; a comparison of elements, skies, worlds, airs, senses both internal and external, devotional exercises etc. —all form a very interesting comparative study.

The *Majma‘-ul-Baḥrain* marks the beginning of a very commendable effort of a prince that led him towards a deeper and more intimate comprehension of Indian philosophical and religious thought, which produced a few years later, the translations into Persian of the *Gīta*, the *Upanishads* and the *Yoga Vasishṭa*. It also showed that while living together for centuries, Hindus and Muslims should not judge each other by vague and superficial notions of each other's religion, but should try to comprehend the essentials of Truth as contained in their respective scriptures.

The introduction to the treatise is most illuminating. It opens with the assertion that there is no fundamental difference between Hinduism and Islam. "Islam and Infidelity (Hinduism) both are galloping on the way towards Him; both exclaim: 'He is one and none shares His sovereignty'."[6] On the unparalleled and matchless face of the Incomparable Lord are the unparalleled locks of Faith (Islam) and Infidelity (Hinduism) and by neither of them He has covered His beautiful face. This verse of Sanāʾī is given in the opening: "In the name of One who hath no name; with whatever name thou callest Him, He uplifteth His head".[7] Proceeding, he observes, that after ascertaining the true religion of the Ṣūfis and obtaining the mystic inspiration, he thirsted to know the tenets of the religion of the Indian monotheists. "This unsolicitous *faqīr*, Muḥammad Dārā Shikūh, after knowing the truth of truths and after ascertaining the secrets and subtleties of the true faith of the mystics," he says, "and having been endowed with this great gift, he longed to know the tenets of the religion of the Indian monotheists; and after having the association and discussion with the doctors and perfect divines of this (Hindu) religion, who had attained the greatest perfection in religious exercises, comprehension of God, intelligence and religious insight, he did not find any difference except verbal, in the way in which they sought to comprehend the Truth."[8]

The Preface.

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[6] p. 1.

[7] *Ibid.*: بنام آن که او نامی ندارد بهر نامی که خوانی سر برآرد

[8] *Ibid.*:

اما میگوید فقیر بی حزن و اندوه محمد دارا شکوه که بعد از دریافت حقیقت الحقائق و تحقیق رموز
و دقائق مذهب برحق صوفیه و فائز گشتن باین عطیهٔ عظمی درصدد آن شد که درک کند مشرب موحدان هند
و با بعضی از محققانِ اینقوم و کاملان ایشان که به نهایت ریاضت و ادراک و فهمیدگی و غایتِ تصوف و خدا
یابی رسیده بودند، مکرر صحبتها داشته و گفتگو نموده، جز اختلافِ لفظی در دریافت و شناختِ حق تفاوتی ندید۔

After having repeated discussions with the perfect divines of Indian religion, he remarks, that he complied the views of the two parties and having brought together the points——a knowledge of which is absolutely essential and useful for the seekers of the Truth——he has compiled a tract and entitled it *Majma'-ul-Baḥrain* or 'the Mingling of the Two Oceans', for, "it is a collection of the truth and wisdom of two Truth-knowing groups." Concluding, he adds, that he had to think deeply on the subject. He disregards the commonalty of both the creeds : "while discerning and intelligent persons will derive much pleasure from this tract, the block-heads without insight will get no share of its benefits. I have put down these researches of mine, according to my intuition and taste, for the benefit of the members of my family and I have no concern with the common folk of either community."[9]

Its contents.

The tract is divided into the following twenty-two sections :—

(1) On the Elements (*'Anāṣir*).
(2) On the Senses (*Ḥawās*).
(3) On the Devotional Exercises (*Ashghāl*).
(4) On the Attributes of God, the Most High (*Ṣifāt-i-Allāh Ta'ālā*).
(5) On the Soul (*Rūḥ*).
(6) On the Air (*Bād*).
(7) On the Four Worlds (*'Awālim-i-Arba'a*).
(8) On Sound (*Āwāz*).

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[9] *Ibid.* :

پس هر که انصاف دارد و اهل ادراک است در می یابد که در تحقیق این مراتب چه غور رفته و یقین
که فهمیدگانِ صاحبِ ادراک حظِ وافر ازین رساله خواهند برد و کند فهمانِ طرفین را نصیبه از فوائد آن
نخواهد شد ۔ و این تحقیق را موافق کشف و ذوقِ خود برای اهلِ بیتِ خود نوشته ام و مرا با عوام هر دو
قوم کاری نیست ۔

— —

(9) On Light (*Nūr*).
(10) On the Vision of God (*Rūyat*).
(11) On the Names of God, the Most High (*Asmā'i Allāh Ta'ālā*).
(12) On Apostleship and Saintship (*Nubuwwat wa Wilāyat*).
(13) On *Brahmāṇḍa*.
(14) On the Directions (*Jihāt*).
(15) On the Skies (*Āsmānhā*).
(16) On the Earth (*Zamīn*).
(17) On the Divisions of the Earth (*Qismāt-i-zamīn*).
(18) On the *Barzakh*.
(19) On the Ressurrection (*Qiyāmat*).
(20) On Muktī (*Salvation*).
(21) On Day and Night (*Rūz wa Shab*).
(22) On the Infinity of the Cycles (*Benihāyatī'-i-Adwār*).

Contemporary criticism of the work.

According to Sir Jadunath Sarkar[10] and the author of *Siyar-ul-Mutākhkhrīn*[11] it was *Majma'-ul-Baḥrain*, which brought about the end of the prince. The orthodox historians like the author of *'Ālamgīrnāma* and others have charged him with the relentless zeal for his "free-thinking and heretical notions," which made him show an inclination "towards the institutions and religion of the Hindus," whose Brahmans and learned men are characterised by them as "worthless teachers of delusions."[12] Even contemporary European travellers support the view[13] that it was his liberal outlook on the matter of religion and the compilation of the Mingling of the Two Oceans, a first attempt of its own kind to reconcile the divergent doctrines of *Brahmavidyā* and *al-Qur'ān*, which procured a decree from the legal advisers of Aurangzeb that Dārā Shikūh had " apostatized from law and having vilified the religion of God, had allied himself with heresy and infidelity." Consequently he was executed in the year 1659 A.D.

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[10] *Aurangzeb*, Vol. II, p. 214.

[11] *Vide*. p. 403.

[12] Elliot. Vol. VII, p. 179.

[13] For details, see Munacci's *Storia de Mogor*, Vol. I.; Bernier's *Travels* etc.

But judging the attempt of such a compilation from another point of view, we agree with Dr. Qanungo,[14] that undoubtedly the prince struck an original line of investigation, which if honestly persued for the sake of the neglected commonalty, may achieve great things in the present century, when the fate of India depends upon a fresh attempt at the mutual comprehension of the two spiritual elements and an appreciative study of her two apparently discordant cultures. Similar attempts were also made in the time of Akbar when translations of important Hindu scriptures were made into Persian, by a band of devoted scholars; and these, too, did not find favour with the orthodox school, which was not so powerful then as in the days of Aurangzeb. But even then they were not much read, except, by a few liberal-minded Muslims and the Hindu court nobility.

Its comparative value.

Dārā Shikūh's endeavour to establish by comparative process that the ideas of Indian cosmogony are similar to those embodied in the *Qur'ān* are often interpreted as "an irreligious and ridiculous attempt to extol the virtues of Hinduism over Islam," but nothing can be a more unjustificable perversion of truth than this charge against the Prince. It is far from our purpose to defend him, but we can never doubt, even for a moment, the underlying sincerity of purpose in such an attempt, which placed religion on a broader foundation and tended to point out a way to a better comprehension of each other's ideas in a spirit of mutual goodwill. The common bond of the uniformity of basic ideals of the Hindus and the Muslims, showed to him that the different modes of expression used in the two religions, were nothing but the varying phases of one changeless.Truth. As against the rather lukewarm and more often niggardly attitude of the *pandits* in imparting learning and religious knowledge to others, the unimaginative and fanatical *mullā* forgetting that Islam had an unprecedented record of religious toleration and patronage of learning and sciences, denounced such attempts of an enlightened princes as "startling innovations" and "rank heresy". Unfortunately this spirit of mistrust and religious antagonism, has been much accentuated in recent times of political quandry, but taking a broader aspect of things, can we assert that living side by side for centuries, both the Hindus and the Muslims in India, have left behind an era totally barren of common cultural contributions? Have their social, religious and cultural ideals not contributed anything to the growth of an Indo-Muslims thought? Whatever the answer to these questions, Dārā Shikūh did not consider that the two great religions stood apart absolutely irreconcilable. Overlooking the sectarian dogma or philosophical disputes, there exists to this day, a vital bond of cultural unity. Such bonds of Indo-Muslim thought, towards the evolution of which the *Majma'-ul-Baḥrain*, though not rich and exuberant in language and style, is a starting point, it is hard for anyone to deny.

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[14] Vol. I. (*op. cit.*).

Let us now consider some of the subjects dealt with in the *Majma'-ul-Bḥrain*[15]:

Soul is of two kinds: common soul and Soul of souls

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[15] In all cases, I have followed the text of the *Majma'-ul-Baḥrain*, (Bibiliotheca Indica, 1929), edited by M. Maḥfūẓ-ul-Ḥaq.

(*Abul Arwāḥ*), which are called *Ātmāṇ* and *Paramātmāṇ*‡ in the phraseology of Indian divines. When the Pure Self (*D͟hāt-i-Baḥt*) becomes dominated and fettered, either in respect of purity or impurity, He is known as *rūḥ* (soul) or *Ātmāṇ* in His elegent aspect and *jasad* (body) or *śarīra* in His inelegant aspect. And the self that was determined in the eternity past is known as *Rūḥ-i-A'ẓam* (Supreme Soul) and is said to possess uniform identity with the Omniscient Being. Now the Soul in which all the souls are included, is known as *Paramātmāṇ* or *Abul Arwāḥ*. The interrelation between water and its waves is the same as that between body and soul or as that between *śarīra* and *Ātmāṇ*. The combination of waves, in their complete aspect, may very aptly, be likened to *Abul Arwāḥ* or *Paramātmāṇ*; while water only is just like the August Existence (*Ḥaḍrat-i-Wajūd*) or *Śuddha* or *Chétana*.

Rūḥ or Ātmāṇ.

Sound emanates from the same breath of the Merciful which came out with the word Kun or "*Be*" at the time of the creation of the universe. Indian divines call that sound *Sarasvatī*,[16] which they say is the source of all other sounds, voices and vibrations: "Whatever thou hearest, it is His melodious voice : who has, after all, heard such a rolling sound?" According to Indian monotheists, this sound which is called *Nāḍa*, is of three kinds.[17] *First*, *Anāhata*, which has been in the Eternity Past, is so at the present and will be so in the future. The Ṣūfis name

Conception of Sound : Indian & Islamic.

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‡ The *Ātmān* in the Rig-Vedic philosophy is a very comprehensive term, but generally it denotes the individual soul as distinguished from *Paramātmāṇ* or the Universal Soul.

[16] *Sarasvatī* forms a triad with the sacrificial goddesses Īdā and Bārāti; in the *Brahmāṇas*, she is identified with Vāk or "Speach". She is also called the goddess of learning and eloquence and is often identified with a celestial or oracular sound.

[17] The three-fold sound—the Physical sound, the Physiological sound and the Psychic or Spiritual sound is also described in the *Risāla'i Ḥaq Numā'*, p. 16-17.

this sound as *Āwāz-i-Muṭlaq* or the Absolute Sound or *Sulṭān-ul-Adhkār*[18] *i.e.* the Highest (the King) of Devotional Exercises. This sound is eternal and is also the source of the perception of *Mahākāśa*;[19] but this sound is inaudible to all, except the great saints of the two communities. *Second*, *Āhata* or the sound which originated from the striking of one thing against another, without its combination into words. *Third*, *Śabda* or the sound which emanates together with its formation into words. *Śabda*[20] possesses an affinity with *Sarasvatī* and is the source of *Ism-i-A'ẓam* or the Great Name of the Muslims and *Vedāmukha* or *Om* of the Hindus. *Ism-i-A'ẓam* means that He is the possessor of the three attributes of Creation,

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[18] The devotional exercise, *Sulṭān-ul-Adhkār* termed as the "Voice of Silence" has been described by Dārā Shikūh in his own picturesque way in the Qādirī systems of meditation. Chapter I.

[19] *Mahākāśa* or the Great Ether, is compared by Dārā Shikūh, with *'Unṣur-i-A'ẓam* or the Great Element, through whose instrumentality we hear sounds (p. 41); "and it is through the sense of hearing that its real essence is manifested." At another place, (p. 64) it is described as the ninth sky, encircling all other skies. And again the *'Unṣur-i-A'ẓam* or *Mahākāśa* is identified with *Śūkśma Śarīra* or the Element body of the Divinity. (p. 68).

[20] *Śabda* or sound is associated with the sacred syllable Aum (Om) in the *Amṛit. Upan.* The comparison of *Ism-i-A'ẓam* with Aum (Om), is comprehensible in as much as both denote some attributes of Divinity. Both are comprehensive terms; the former, as generally admitted, is one of the yet undetermined ninety-nine names of God, while the latter, though used in many respects in the Upanishads, appears as a mystic monosyllable, and is there set forth as the object of profound religious meditation, the highest spiritual efficacy being attributed not only to the whole world but also to its three sounds, *A*, *U* and *M* of which it consists.. *Ism-i-A'ẓam*, is described above as the possessor of the three attributes of creation, preservation and destruction; similarly, Aum (Om) is the mystic name of the Indian triad, representing a union of the three gods, *viz.*, *A* (Viśṇū), *U* (Śiva) and *M* (Brahmāṇ). Other details with regard to its origin, etymology and various symbolic aspects are given in both the *Brihadāraṇyaka* and *Chāndogya* Upanishads. The functions of the above-mentioned triad, associated with Aum (Om) are explained by Dārā Shikūh in another section (p. 44): "Brahmāṇ or Jibrā'īl is the angel of creation, Viśṇū or Mikā'īl is the angel of duration of existence and Mahēśvara (Śiva) or Isrāfīl is the angel of destruction.

Preservation and Destruction, and *Fatḥa*, *Dhamma* and *Kasra*, which correspond with *Akāra*, *Ukāra* and *Makāra*, have also originated from this *Ism-i-A'ẓam*. The Indian divines assign a special symbol to this sound which bears a close resemblance to our *Ism-i-A'ẓam* and in which traces of the elements of water, fire, air and dust and of the Pure Self are manifest.

Names of God.

In the Indian language, the Absolute, the Pure, the Hidden of the hidden and the Necessary Self is known as *Asaṅga*, *Tṛinguṇa*, *Nirākāra*, *Nirañjana* and *Sattva Chitta*. If knowledge is attributed to Him, the Indian divines designate Him as *Chetana* while the Muslims call Him *'Alīm*. For *al-Ḥaq* they have the word *Ananta*, for *Qādir* they have *Samartha*, for *Samī'* they have *Srota* and for *Baṣīr* they have *Draśṭa*. If spirit is attributed to that Absolute Self, they call Him *Vyakta*; *Allāh* they call *Om*, *Hū* they call *Saḥ* and they designate *firishta* as *devta* in their language. *Waḥī* or Divine revelation is known as *Ākāśavāṇī*, *Maẓhar-i-Atmām* or perfect manifestation is called *Avatāra* . . . . *Rūyat* or the Vision of God is called *Sakśatkāra* . . . . .

Qiyāmat and Mahāpralaya.

Speaking on the Ressurrection (*Qiyāmat*), he says, that the belief of the Indian monotheists is that after a very long sojourn in Heaven or Hell, the *Mahāpralaya*[21] would take place. This fact is also ascertainable from the holy *Qur'ān*: "And when the Ressurrection comes." (LXXIX, 34), and this verse: "And the trumpet shall be blown, so all those that are in the earth shall swoon, except such as Allāh pleases." (XXXIX, 68). The Hindu conception is that after the destruction of heavens and hells, the upsetting of the skies and the completion of the age of *Brahmāṇḍa*, the occupants of Hell and Heaven will achieve *muktī*, that is, both will be absorbed and annihilated in the Self of the Lord, as stated in the holy verse: " Every one on it must pass away. And there will endure for ever the person of thy Lord, the Lord of glory and honour." (LV. 26, 27.)

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[21] *Mahāpralaya*, according to *Viśṇu purāna*, is the total annihilation of the universe at the end of a *Kalpa*. Dārā Shikūh calls it *Qiyāmat-i-Kubra* (p. 40). At another place (74), he observes that the smaller Ressurrection or *Qiyāmat-i-Saghra*, known in the Indian phraseology as *Khaṇḍapralaya*, which comes either like the innudation of water or the conflagration of fire or storms, would preceed *Mahāpralaya*, which is ordained in the following two verses: "On the day when the earth shall be changed into a different earth." (XIX. 48); and "On the day when We will roll up the heaven like the rolling up of the scroll for writing." (XXI, 104).

Muktī according to him, is identical with the Islamic conception of Salvation. It denotes the annihilation and disappearance of determinations in the Self of the Lord, as is evident from the holy verse: "And the best of all is Allāh's goodly pleasure—that is the grand achievement." (IX. 72). The entrance in the *Riḍwān-i-Akbar* or the High Paradise is a great Salvation called *Muktī*.

The three-fold *Muktī*.

It is three-fold. First, *Jivanmukti*, or salvation in life, which consists " in the attainment of salvation and freedom, by being endowed with the wealth of knowledge and understanding of the Truth, in seeing and considering everything of this world as one, in ascribing to God and not to oneself, all deeds, actions, movements, behaviour whether good or bad, and in regarding oneself, together with all existing objects, as in complete identity with the Truth." Secondly, *Sarvamuktī*, or the liberation from every kind of bondage, consists in absorption in His Self. This Salvation is "universally true in the case of all living beings, and after the destruction of the sky, the earth, the Paradise, the Hell, the Brahmāṇḍa and the day and the night they will attain salvation by annihilation in the Self of the Lord." To this Salvation, is a reference in this verse: " Now surely the friends of Allāh, they shall have no fear nor shall they grieve." (X. 62). Thirdly, *Sarvadamuktī*, or

Eternal Salvation, which consists in becoming an *'Ārif* and in attaining freedom and salvation in every stage of (spiritual) progress, " whether this advancement is made in the day or in the night, whether in the manifest or the hidden world, whether the *Brahmāṇḍa* appears or not, and whether it takes place in the past, the present or the future. " Explaining the mystic significance of the Eternal Salvation, he observes, that wherever the holy Qur'ān speaks of the Paradise, *e.g.* in "Abiding therein (*i.e.* Paradise) for ever." (IX. 22.), the word 'Paradise' applies to Divine Knowledge and ' for ever ' refers to the perpetuity of this *Muktī*, the reason being, that in whatever state one may be, the capacity to know God and to receive Eternal favour is necessary. Hence the following two verses give good tidings to such a group of persons as have been ordained to attain *Muktī* : "Their Lord gives them good news of mercy from Himself and (His) good pleasure and gardens, wherein lasting blessings shall be theirs; abiding therein for ever; surely Allāh has a mighty reward with Him." (IX. 21, 22); and " Give good news (O, Prophet) to the believers who do good that they shall have a goodly reward." (XVIII. 2, 3).

In the Discource on Elements (*'Anāṣir*), the five elements forming the constituents of all mundane creation, as understood in the Islamic phraseology, are compared with those of the Indian conception. First, the Great Element (*'Unṣur-i-A'ẓam*); second, wind (*bād*); third, fire (*ātis͟h*); fourth, water (*āb*) and fifth, earth (*k͟hāk*), are identical with the *pañchabhūta* (five elements) known as *ākāśa*, *vāyū*, *tejas*, *jala* and *prithvī*.

There are three *ākāśas* : *Bhūtākāśa*, which surrounds the elements; *Mahākāśa*, which encircles the whole existence; and *Chidākāśa*, which is not transient and is permanent and there is no Qur'ānic or Vedic verse to testify to its annihilation and destruction. The first thing to emanate from *Chidākāśa* was Love (*'Is͟hq*), which is called

Māyā[22] in the language of the Indian monotheists; and "I was a hidden treasure, then I desired to be known, so I brought the creation into existence," is a proof to this statement. From Love (*'Ishq*) *Rūḥ-i-A'ẓam* or *Mahātmāṇ*,[23] the Great Soul was born, by which is understood a reference to the soul of the Prophet and to the " complete soul " of Muḥammad. The Indian monotheists call him *Hiraṇyagarbha.*[24]

Similarly, the five senses—*Shāmma* (smelling), *Dhā'iqa* (tasting), *Bāṣira* (seeing), *Sāmi'a* (hearing) and *Lāmisa* (touching) are the *Pañchaindriyānī* of Indian conception, which are called *ghrāṇa* (nose), *rasanā* (tongue), *chakśuh* (eye), *śrota* (ear) and *tvak* (skin) with their qualities of perception known as *gandha*, *rasa*, *rūpa*, *śabda* and *sparśa*. The description of the relative qualities of the senses and their association with elements is of much interest. The sense of smell is allied with dust, for the reason, that none of the elements except dust possesses smell which is perceived by *Shāmma*. *Dhā'iqa* is connected with water, for, the taste of water is perceived by tongue; *Bāṣira* is connected with fire, for, colour is perceived by eye only, while luminosity is present in both. *Lāmisa* is connected with air, for, the perception of all tangible objects is through the medium of air; and *Sāmi'a* is connected with the *'Unṣur-i-A'ẓam* or *Mahākāśa*, through whose instrumentality we hear sounds. It is through the sense of hearing that the real essence of *Mahākāśa* is manifested to the religious devotees, while no one else can realise it. Such exercise is common to the Ṣūfis and the Indian monotheists; the former call it *Shaghl-i-Pās-i-Anfās* or the exercise of controlling of the breath, while the latter call it *Dhyāna* in their own phraseology.

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[22] *Māyā* does not signify Love or *'Ishq*, according to Indian conception. In its old sense it may mean 'wisdom' or 'super-natural power', but in the Vedic literature, it denotes 'unreality'. 'illusion' or 'super-natural magic', *e.g.*, "Indra by his magic powers (*māyā*) goes about in many forms." (*Bṛih. Upan.* II, 5, 19.). In the *Rig-Veda*, the word occurs in the meaning of supernatural powers or artifices. It is this thought which is developed into the theory of cosmic illusion and can be roughly compared to *'Ishq*, if taken as illusion identified in the Saṃkhya with *prakriti* and the later Vedānta doctrine of *Māyā*, in which it is regarded as the source of the visible universe and the inevitable illusoriness of all human cognition. The theory of cosmic illusion of the later *Māyā* doctrine, is best expressed in the *Śvet. Upan.* (IV, 9-10) :

> "The whole world the illusion-maker projects out of this (Brahmāṇ),
> And in it by illusion the other is confined.
> Now, one should know, the Nature is illusion.
> And the Mighty Lord is the illusion-maker."

[23] The text reads jīvātmāṇ (living soul).

[24] *Hiraṇyagarbha* is translated by Dārā Shikūh as مجموعۂ عنصر بسیط in the *Sirr-i-Akbar* (fol. IIb.). It is the name of Brahmāṇ, *lit.* golden fetus, so called as born from a golden egg out of the seed deposited in the waters, when produced as the first creation of the Self-existent: "Who of old created the Golden Germ (*Hiraṇyagarbha*)". *Śvet. Upan.* III, 3, 3; and in the *Rig-Veda* (X, 121, 1) :

> "In the beginning arose *Hiraṇyagarbha*,
> The earth's begetter, who created heavens."

According to Manū (1, 9.), this seed became golden egg, resplendent as the sun in which Brahmāṇ was born as Creator, who is therefore regarded as a manifestation of the Self-existent. The comparison of *Rūḥ-i-A'ẓam* with *Hiraṇyagarbha* as the "complete soul" of the Prophet is very far fetched.

Senses : Internal and External.

Then there is the comparison of internal senses, which according to Islamic conception are five—*Mushtarak* or common, *Mutakhayyila* or imaginary, *Mutafakkira* or contemplative, *Ḥāfiẓa* or retentive and *Wāhima* or fanciful. In the Indian system, however, these are four in number,[25]

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[25] According to Śankarāchārya (*Māṇḍūkya-Upan.*, 3), the senses are three-fold. (I) Five organs of sense (*Buddhīndriya*) *viz.*, those of hearing, touch, sight, taste and smell; (2) five organs of action (*Karamīndriya*), *viz.*, those of speech, handling, locomotion, generation and excretion; and (3) five vital breaths (*Prāṇa*), the sensorium (*manas*), the intellect (*buddhī*), egoism (*ahaṃkāra*) and thinking (*chitta*). *Buddhī* is described as the five-fold perception and the original source of vital breaths.

viz., *Buddhī*,[26] *Manas*,[27] *Ahaṃkāra*,[28] and *Chitta*[29]—a combination of which is called *Antāḥkaraṇa*,[30] and this in turn may be looked upon as the fifth.

God's Attributes.

A comparison of some of the attributes of God is most striking. According to the Ṣūfis, there are two Divine attributes of *Jamāl* or Beauty, and *Jalāl* or Majesty, which encircle the whole creation; while according to the Indian devotees, there are three attributes of God collectively known as *Triguṇa*[31] or *sattva*,

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[26] *Buddhī* or intellect, which is decribed by Dārā Shikūh as "understanding, which possesses the characteristic of moving towards good and evil", is more than that. In the *Kaṭha-Upan.* (III, 10.) it is 'higher than mind (*manas*)'; and again (III, 3.) 'Know thou that intellect (*buddhī*) as the chariot-driver, and mind (*manas*) as the reins'.

[27] *Manas* or mind, explained as "possessing the two characteristics of *saṃkalpa* (determination) and *Vikalpa* (abandonment or doubt)." In the *Kena-Upan* (IV, 5): "that which they say *manas* is thought," and in the *Kaṭha-Upan.* (III, 10) it is said to be 'higher than objects of sense.'

[28] *Ahaṃkāra or* egoism or self-consciousness . . . . which attributes things to itself, is one of the qualities of *Paramātmāṇ*, for the reason that it possesses *māyā*. More details are given by Dārā Shikūh with regard to the three fold *Ahaṃkāra*, viz., (1) *Ahaṃkār-Sattva* or *Jñānasvarūpa*, which is "the high stage of *Paramātmāṇ* when he says: 'whatever there is, is I'. Such is the stage of complete encircling of everything: "Now surely He encompasses every thing." (Qur'ān, XLI, 54). (2) *Ahaṃkār-Rajas* or *Madhyama*, which is the middle stage, when the neophyte says: "Myself is free from the limitations of body and elements." (3) *Ahaṃkār-Tamas* or the servitude to the August Self.

[29] *Chitta* or thought, which is described by Dārā Shikūh, as "the messenger of mind.........and which does not possess the faculty of distinguishing between right and wrong." But in the *Chānd. Upan.* (VII, 5, I.) it is described "assuredly more than *saṃkalpa*, for, when one thinks he forms a conception, then he has in mind, then he utters speech."

[30] *Antāḥkaraṇa*, the internal organ of mind and the seat of thought.

[31] That who possesses three (*tri*) qualities (*guṇa*). In the *Sirr-i-Akbar*, *Triguṇa* is translated as *Sih Ṣifāt*. In some remote way the comparison of *Jalāl* and *Jamāl* with the collective *Triguṇa* (*rajas*, *tamas* and *sattva*) may be plausible. *Sattva* may be more appropriately compared with the attribute of *Kamāl*, *e.g.*, Exalted, Wise, First and Last, Outward and Inward.

rajas and *tamas*, denoting creation, duration and destruction respectively. But as these attributes are included in one another, Indian mystics name them *Trimūrtī*—Brahmāṇ, Viśṇū, and Maheśvara, who are identical with Jibra'īl, Mīkā'īl and Isrāfīl. Brahmāṇ or Jibra'īl is the angel of creation, Viśṇū or Mīkā'īl is the angel of duration or existence, and Maheśvara or Isrāfīl is the angel of destruction.

The description of these three Divine attributes is more vivid. The *Triguṇa* is manifested through Brahmāṇ, Viśṇū and Maheśvara, whose attributes are, in turn, manifested in all the creation of the universe. Thus when a person is born, he lives for an apportioned period and then is annihilated. The potential power of these attributes is called *Tridevī*. Now *Trimūrtī* gives birth to Brahmāṇ, Viśṇū and Maheśvara,[32] while *Tridevī* was the mother of Sarasvatī, Pārvatī, and Lakśmī who are connected with *Rajoguṇa*, *Tamoguṇa* and *Sattvaguṇa* respectively.

According to Indian thought, these three attributes indicate a progressive differentiation of the Supreme Soul. First, there was nothing but Darkness (*tamas*) in the world. When impelled by the Supreme, it goes on differentiation. That form becomes Passion (*rajas*), and, Passion in turn, when impelled goes on to differentiation. That form becomes Purity (*sattva*).

The *Maitri-Upan.* (III, 5) gives a very vivid description of characteristics of *rajas* and *tamas*: (1) *Tamas* or Dark Quality, whose characteristic are, "delusion, fear, despondency, sleepiness, weariness, heedlessness, old age, sorrow, hunger, thirst, wretchedness, anger, atheism (*nāstikya*), ignorance, jealousy, cruelty, stupidity, shamelessness, religious neglect, pride and unequableness." (2). The characteristic of *Rajas* or Passionate Quality, on the other hand, are "inner thirst, affection, emotin, covetousness, maliciousness, fickleness, distractedness, ambitiousness, accquisitiveness, favouritism towards friends, dependence upon surroundings..."

[32] In the *Maitri-Upan.* (IV, 2), it is thus: "Thus part of Him which is characterised by Darkness (*tamas*) is Rūdra; that part of Him which is characterised by Passion (*rajas*) is Brahmāṇ; and that part of Him which is characterised by Purity (*sattva*) is Visṇū."

CHAPTER X.

JOG-BASHISHT

The Yoga-Vasishṭa

The *Yoga-Vasishṭa* is a very rare and valuable didactical work in Sanskrit on Hindu Gnosticism. According to V. Mitra,[1] in Sanskrit it is the earliest work on *Yoga* or speculative and abtruse philosophy delivered by the venerable sage Vasishṭa to his royal pupil Rāma. It embodies the *loci communes* or common place relating to the sciences of ontology—the knowledge of *sat*, real entity; the *asat*, unreal non-entity, the principles of Psychology or doctrines of passions and feelings upon other cognitious, volitious and other faculties of mind and the tenets of ethics and practical morality all derived from Platonic dialogues between the sages and tending to the main enquiry concerning the true felicity, final beautitude or *summum bonum* of all true philosophy.

The *Yoga* philosophy had already been made accessible to the Mohammedan world, when in the beginning of the eleventh century Alberūnī translated into Arabic, Pātañjali's famous work *Yoga-Sūtra* and *Saṅkhya-Sūtra*. The copies of the above translations are very rare and according to Weber,[2] the contents of these works do not harmonize with the originals. For a detailed account of these works the reader is referred to the preface of the translation of the *Yoga-Vasishṭa* mentioned above. Therein the translator also explains the *Yoga* System in all its various aspects.

Dārā, as we know, was himself a keen student of

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[1] *Yoga-Vasishṭa Mahārāmayana of Vālmīki* (preface to the translation), Calcutta 1891.

[2] *Indian Literature*, pp. 239.

Dārā and the *Yoga-Vasishṭa.*

Gnosticism, so a work on Indian Gnosticism could not escape his notice. He ordered the translation of this work to be made under his personal supervision in the year A.H. 1066 (A.D. 1656). The copies of this work are not very rare in India. In Europe MS. copies of the Persian translation are preserved in the Bodleian Library,[3] the India Office Library[4] and Bibliotheca Sprengeriana.[5] It is also interesting to note that a translation of the *Yoga-Vasishṭa* was also made by the order of Akbar in the year A.D. 1598. This manuscript has been noticed by Dr. Ethe.[6] Pandit Sheo Narain[7] gives a detailed account of the translation made at the instance of Dārā Shikūh, in his article on Dārā Shikūh as an Author. The work was lithographed at Lucknow in 1887, but copies of this edition are now very rare.

Many Persian translations of *Yoga-Vasishṭa* made at different times are still extant. One is by Pandit Ānandan (called Bahandan by Ethe. *Cat. Ind. Off. Vol. I*, 1971), which has been noticed in the Bodleian Catalogue (No. 1328) and also by Rieu. (Vol. I, p. 61a). The translation of Shaikh Ṣūfi mentioned in the Preface of the present work, is probably that of Ṣūfi Sharīf Qubjahānī, entitled *Tuḥfah-i-Majlis* or *Aṭwār dar ḥall-i-Asrār*, based on the *Yogavāsishṭhasāras* (Weber, *Berlin Cat.* p. 186) divided into ten chapters each called *Ṭūr*. (See also Rieu. Vol. III, p. 1034b, No. x and W. Pertsch, *Berlin Cat. p.* 1022, No. 4).

The translator in the preface gives an account of the

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[3] Ethe and Schaus' Catalogue, No. 1328.

[4] *Cat. of Persian MSS. in India Office*, Nos. 1185, 1355, 1859.

[5] Dr. Fober's *Catalogue*, No. 1661.

[6] *Catalogue of Persian MSS. in the India Office Library* No. 1971.

[7] *Journal of the Punjab Historical Society*, Vol. II, No. 1. pp. 31-32.

Preface to the Translation.

circumstances which led to the translation of the *Yoga-Vasishṭa* into Persian. He writes, "Gratitude, adoration and submission are offered to One, the Sun of whose glory shines in every atom of the cosmos and where grandeur is manifested in the Universe, although, He is hidden from all eye and is behind the veil; boundless benedictions in all sincerity and faith free from error, omission or sanctimoniousness to that choicest product of His creation, to that personification of all that is best *i.e.* Muḥammad the Prophet, and the same to 'Ali the object of his love. Let it be known to the noble souls that the scholars who have before this translated *Jog-Bas̲h̲is̲h̲t* into Persian and ommited some of the Sanskrit terms, have not been able to convey the subtilties and full sense of the text. It was for this reason that in one of the months of the year A.H. 1066, (A.D. 1656). the crown of the kings, the refuge of the world, the descendant of the glorious kings, God's best creature, the initiate in divine mysteries, the embodiment of what is grand and noble, the God-knowing king Dārā S̲h̲ikūh, son of S̲h̲āh Jahān ordained as follows :—' Since the translations of this sacred book which are extant, have not proved of much use to the seekers of truth, it is my desire that a retranslation should be undertaken in conference with learned men of all sects who are conversant with the text. My chief reason for this noble command is that although I had profited by perusing a translation of it ascribed to S̲h̲aik̲h̲ Ṣūfi,[s] yet once two saintly persons appeared in my dreams; one of whom was tall, whose hair was grey, the other short and without any hair. The former was Vasishṭ and the latter Rām Chandra, and as I had read the translation already alluded to, I was naturally attracted towards them and paid my respects. Vasishṭ was very kind to me and patted me on the back and addressing Rām Chandra told him that I was brother to him because both he and I were seekers after truth. He asked Rām Chandra to embrace me which he did in exuberance of love. Thereupon Vasishṭ gave some sweets to Rām Chandra which I took and ate. After this vision, a desire to cause the retranslation of the book intensified me."

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[s] This translation referred to above, as its title

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indicates is not complete. (*Vide* Ethe. Vol. I, No. 1972.)

The Contents.

The work as originally written in Sanskrit is divided into the following six *Prakarṇas*:—

بیراگ پرکرن	(*Vairāgya-prakarṇam*).	Vanities of Life.
مُمچھُ پرکرن	(*Mumukshuvyavahāra-prakaraṇam*).	Renunciation.
اُتپت پرکرن	(*Utpatti-prakaraṇam*).	Creation.
استهت پرکرن	(*Sthiti-prakaraṇam*).	Preservation.
اُپشم پرکرن	(*Upaśama-prakarṇam*).	Dissolution.
نِربَان پرکرن	(*Nirvāṇa-prakaraṇam*).	Beautitude.

II

GĪTA

The Persian translation of the *Bhāgwatgīta*, in 18 *adhyāyas*, was made by Dārā Shikūh, probably with the help of some pundits, between the years A.H. 1065—67. It is described as an attempt to present "the highest and the best tenets of Hinduism in the most attractive garb." Although a number of other Persian translations of the same work exist in India, I have not come across any good MS. of Dārā Shikūh's version, with the exception of one (that, too, of doubtful character) in the private collection of

Sayyid Ramaḍān 'Ali Shāh Gardezī of Multan. The following Persian translations of this important Hindu Scripture, " the Song of the Most High "—comprising the discourses between Sri Krishna and Arjuna on Divine matter, which was interpolated as an episode in the sixth *Parva* of the Mahābhārata, were made prior to that of Dārā Shikūh's :—

1. *Gīta Sunbodhanī*, translated from Sanskrit commentary—*Sunbodhanī*. Date not known. (Catalogue of Persian MSS. in the Bodlein Library, 1321).

2. A versified Persian translation of the *Srīmad Bhāgwatgīta*, by Faiḍī (Edited by M. Āṣif 'Ali and now published at Delhi).

3. A Persian translation from Sanskrit ascribed to Abul Faḍl (?) (Rieu: I. 7676; Add. 6607; Vol. III. p. 1034b. Ethe : I. No. 1950. See also *infra*).

4. Another version entitled as the *Mir'at-ul-Ḥaqā'iq* with comparative comments in Islamic terminology on its philosophic import by 'Abdul Raḥmān Chishtī in 1065 A.H. (Ethe. *opt.*, *cit.*).

5. Another Persian translation of the *Bhāgwatgīta* by an anonymous author. (Ethe: 1950).

6. Two more Persian versions are also mentioned: one noticed by J. Aumer (Munich Catalogue, p. 140); and the other, ascribed to Abul Faḍl (?) in the Library of King's College, Cambridge.

According to Ethe (*Cat.* of *Pers. MSS. in Ind. Off.* No. 1949), a copy of Dārā Shikūh's translation is wrongly ascribed to Abul Faḍl, the real author (translator), as is indicated by a note on fol. 13 of the MS. copy is Dārā Shikūh. In view of this categorical statement, it is essential that differentiation may clearly be made between the translations made by Abul Faḍl (?) and Dārā Shikūh. Apart from an abridged version of the *Gīta*, included in the *Razmnāmā*, a Persian translation of the *Mahābhārata*, made by four scholars at the instance of Akbar (*vide.* Prologue, *supra*), wherein the whole discourse between Sri Krishna and Arjuna is condensed into few pages, it does not seem likely that Abul Faḍl also made a translation of the *Gīta* in 18 *adhyāyas*, separately. Abul Faḍl himself does not mention it in the *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī* (Blochmann, p. 104) among the translations made for Akbar; nor does Badāūnī include it among the various Sanskrit works which were translated during that period. (*Muntak͟hab-ut-Tawārīk͟h* Vol. II).

The text of both the MSS. in the India Office Library and the British Museum (as appears from the first lines cited therein) does not differ. The date of the translation is missing in both, but it is described that " the version of the *Gītā* is full and follows the (Sanskrit) text very closely."

CHAPTER XI

Mukālama Bābā Lāl wa Dārā Shikūh

"Bābā Lāl told me: 'Be not a Shaikh, be not a saint, be not a weilder of miracles. Be rather a *faqīr*—unpretencious and sincere.' "

—DĀRĀ SHIKUH—

SEVEN DIALOGUES ON COMPARATIVE MYTHOLOGY.

Bāba Lāl.

Bābā Lāl, a Hindu Yogī and the founder of a petty modern Indian monotheistic sect, known after his name as the *Bābā Lālīs*, belonged to the order of Kabīr[1]. Bābā Lāl is one of the perfect gnostics." Observes Dārā Shikūh, "He is unparalleled in the Hindu community in majesty and firmness. He told me: 'Gnostics are to be found in every community and through their grace that community is granted salvation by God'."[2] There are two conflicting statements advanced about the place of his birth. According to Pandit Sheo Narain,[3] who claims to possess a manuscript copy of his biography, he was a Khattri of Qaṣūr who lived at his Asthān at Dhiānpur near Batāla; but Wilson who furnishes a very vivid account of the origin and doctrines of the *Bābā Lālīs*, asserts that the founder of this apparently now extinct sect was born in Mālwa in Rājpūtāna during Jahāngīr's reign (A.D. 1605-1627).[4] Apart from these two statements, it would be noticed with surprise that this sect, which had its birth in northern India in the first half of the seventeenth century, is still said to be in possession of a religious house at *Bābā Lāl ka Saila* near Baroada.[5]

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[1] *Ḥasanāt-ul-'Ārifīn*, (Lahore), p. 44.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 40. Here Ṣūfic aphorisms of Bābā Lāl are also given.

[3] *Journal of the Panjab Historical Society*, Lahore, Vol. II. p. 27-28.

[4] Wilson: *Sketch of the Religious Sects of the Hindus* in Journal Asiatique, Paris, 1832, p. 296.

The religious tenets of the *Bābā Lālīs.*

The followers of Bābā Lāl are often included among the Vaiśnava sect; this classification is warranted by the outward appearance of these sectaries, who streak their forehead with the *gopīchandana* and profess veneration for Rāma. They are adherents of the *Bhakti-mārga* or the Devotional Path, though the doctrine of Incarnation has no place in their teachings. Their attitude towards religion is essentially monotheistic. Their chief characteristics are a unitarian conception of Divinity, belief in the *Saṅkhya-Yogic* process of creation and in the immortality of soul; salvation dependent on *karma* (action) and an adherence towards a medly of the *Yogic*, *Vedāntic* and *Ṣūfic* tenets, both in worship and meditation. This petty offshoot of one of the major reformist school *viz.*, Ramanuja's *Sri-sampradāya*, did not possess any individual spiritual force or any special doctrinal formula, on the other hand, it borrowed much from the tenets of its sister sects of the same spiritual origin like the *Kabīr-Panthīs*, the *K͟hākīs*, the *Mulūk-Dāsīs* and *Sena-Panthīs*, and played only a minor role in its contribution to the reformist upheaval of the *Bhakti* cult which shook the solid foundations of Indian religious thought in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Bābā Lāl is described as the pupil of Chetan Swāmī, the famous Indian reformer. He came to Panjab along with the latter and after attaining some perfection in religious meditation, he went to Lahore in A.D. 1649 and finally settled down in Sirhind in the Panjab.

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[5] Farquhar J. N. *Outline of Religious Literature*, p. 334.

Grierson,[6] while summarising his achievements remarks that Bābā Lāl was one of those Indian reformers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, who, like Kabīr, Dādū and Akbar, endeavoured to found a purely monotheistic religion, combining elements partly derived from the beliefs of the Musalmān Ṣūfis and partly those of the followers of the *Bhaktī-mārga*. Like Kabīr, he followed the *Bhaktī-mārga* in the name by which he referred to the Supreme *viz.*, Rāma; but, also as in Kabīr's teachings, this Rāma was not to him the Deity incarnate as the earthly prince of Oudh, but was God the father, or in other words, Rāma after he had returned to heaven from his incarnate sojourn upon earth. The doctrine of Incarnation, which is an important part of the *Bhaktī-mārga*, had no place in this system. On the other hand, as in the *Bhaktī-mārga* and as in the Ṣūfism, the key-note of his system was an all-absorbing love directed to the gracious personal God. As he himself says, 'The feelings of a perfect disciple have not been and cannot be described; as it is said, "A person asked me, what are the sensations of a lover?" I replied, "When you are a lover, you will know."'

Dārā Shikūh meets Bābā Lāl.

While Bābā Lāl was at Delhi in the year 1649 A.D., Dārā Shikūh was attracted towards the saint, but he met him four years later at Lahore, where he halted after his unsuccessful return from the expedition of Qandhār. Seven discourses were held between the Prince and Bābā Lāl before the former left for Delhi. Wilson,[7] without any authority, dates the several interviews as having taken place in 1649 A.D., but this chronology is rather doubtful, as Dārā Shikūh was not at

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[6] *Bābā Lālīs* (condensed from Wilson by George A. Grierson) in the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. II, p. 308.

[7] *Religious Sects of the Hindus*, Vol. I, p. 347, *ff*. London (1862).

Lahore in that year, and it is explicitly stated in the seventh discourse that it was held at Dārā Shikūh's temporary residence at Lahore. Dārā Shikūh reached Lahore after the Qandhār expedition on November 22, 1653 A.D. and he remained there for three weeks; so we can date the seventh discourse in the middle of December, 1653 A.D.

Where were the Dialogues held?

As regards the different places where the Dialogues were held, we have ample evidence at hand in the text itself. The *first* took place in the garden of Ja'far Khān at Lahore; the *second* in the Sarāi Anwar Maḥal in Bādshāhī Bāgh; the *third* and the *sixth* in Dhanba'i's garden; the *fourth* in the palace of Āṣaf Khān near Shāhganj; the *fifth* in the hunting-ground of Gāwān near Niklānpur[8] and the *seventh*, which lasted for three days at an unknown place described as:

ا درمنزل دولت خانه دارالسلطنت لاهور واقع شد:

Reference in the *Hasanāt-ul-'Ārifīn.*

Dārā Shikūh has recorded one of the aphorisms of Bābā Lāl.[9] "Bābā Lāl, to whom I have made a reference elsewhere, was a Muṇdya and belonged to the order of Kabīr. He told me that spiritual leaders are four-fold. *First* is like the gold incapable of transforming others to its kind. The *second* is like the alchemy which can convert others to gold, but the latter, remains ever devoid of the properties of the former. The *third* is like the sandalwood tree, which is capable of endowing the qualities of its species to trees of a particular receptive branch. The *fourth*—the Perfect preceptor—is like a candle, which is capable of illuminating a hundred thousand candles. To this purport, I (Dārā Shikūh) have said the following quatrain:

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[8] For a description of these places and their exact location *vide*. Latif's *Lahore: Its History, Architectural Remains & Antiquities*, (1892).

[9] *Ḥasanāt-ul-'Ārifīn*, Mujtabā'ī Press Delhi, (A.H. 1309).

> "The Gnostic endows you with illumination—body and soul:
> A barren thorny mound he transforms into a rose garden.
> The Perfect leads you out of the erroneous path—
> A candle illuminates a thousand candles!"

Bābā Lāl told me, 'Be not a Shaikh, be not a saint, be not a wielder of miracles; be rather a *faqīr*, unpretencious and sincere.' "

In the course of my studies in the subject I have come across a number of paintings of the old Mughal school, depicting the meetings of Dārā Shikūh with Bābā Lāl. In the *Court Painters of the Grand Mughals*, a miniature portrays the Prince sitting by the side of Bābā Lāl.[10] The compiler gives a short account of Bābā Lāl in the following words: "Lāl Swāmī was a Kshatriya, born in Mālwa in the reign of Jahāngīr, he settled near Sarhind in the Panjab, where he built himself a hermitage together with a temple and was visited by a large number of disciples. Among those who were attracted by his teachings, was Dārā Shikūh and two Pandits[11] who were in the Prince's service and have recorded in a work entitled *Nādir-ul-Nikāt*, the conversation which took place between Lāl Dās and the Prince during seven interviews between them in the year 1649 A.D." Another painting which was exhibited at the Second Indian Historical Records Commission, shows the Prince engaged in serious conversation with the saint.[12] A painting

3 Paintings and 2 Mathnawis commemorating the Meetings.

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[10] Binyon: Oxford, 1921 (Plate XXII).

[11] According to Wilson (*op. cit.*) the two Pandits mentioned here, were Yādu Dās and Rai Chand, but in view of the clear testimony, the conversations were recorded and later translated into Persian by Chander Bhān *Brahman*, (see footnote 17 *infra*). As regards the date of the Dialogues, Binyon seems to have followed Wilson (*supra*).

[12] Appendix, p. xxv.

depicting the meeting of Dārā Shikūh with Bābā Lāl may be found in the *Indian Painting under the Mughals.*[13] Whether these paintings were made at the instance of the Prince or not, it might be presumed that they clearly depict three of the seven sittings, which Dārā Shikūh held with Bābā Lāl. Two versified stories depicting the relations between Dārā Shikūh and Bābā Lāl (called Shāh Lal the Perfect) are narrated in the mathnawī *Kaj-kulāh* of Ānandghana Khwash written in A.H. 1208.[14] Keeping this view, in fact, it can be asserted that these discourses were pretty well known not only during the life time of the Prince, but also, one hundred and forty five years afterwards.

The Text of the Discourses.

The seven discourses were originally composed in Hindī and were later on translated, according to Delhi edition,[15] under the title of *Nādir-un-Nikāt* by Dārā Shikūh's *mīr munshī* Rai Chander Bhān,[16] who was appointed, later, by Shāh Jahān as the Chief Secretary in the Imperial *Dār-ul-Insha*. Himself a great Persian scholar and a poet, he was a guide and friend of the prince in the course of his Sanskrit studies. He acted as an interpreter during the whole course of the dialogues and then translated them into Persian.[17]

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[13] Plate xlvi (from M. Demottes Collection).

[14] *Cat. of per. MSS. in India office*, Vol. I, (2905 & 1725).

[15] Lithographed, 1885.

[16] Munshī Chander Bhān *Brahman* of Patiala and a pupil of Mullāh 'Abdul Ḥakīm of Siālkot, was Dārā Shikūh's Chief Secretary. He is the author of the famous *Chahār-Chaman*, written in a masterly Persian style and composition dealing with Shāhjahān's court, its splendours and festivals, followed by a memoirs of author's own life; *Munsha'āt-i-Brahman*, a collection of letters to the Emperor and other eminent personages of the time; a Dīwān of lyrical poems entitled *Dīwān-i-Brahman*. Among his other works are the *Kārnāmah*, *Tuḥfat-ul-Wuzara*, *Tuḥfat-ul-Fuṣha*, etc., (for more details of his works *vide.* Ethe, 1574, 2093, 2094; also Bodleian Cat. Nos. 1123, 1385 & 1386; Rieu I, p. 397 sq., II, p. 838, III, p. 1087^{a}. Details about his life are given in the *Mir'āt-i-Jahānnumā* and the *Mir'āt-ul-Khayāl*, etc.). He died in A.H. 1068 = (A.D. 1657-58), or according to others, in A.H. 1063 = (A.D. 1662-63).

Several lithograph copies of these discourses have been published: one edited by Charanjīlāl (Delhi, 1885), a second by Munshī Bulāqī Dāss text with an Urdu translation (Delhi, 1896), a third published at Lahore, with no date, by Malik Chanandīn; and lastly the text with an excellent French translation, published in the *Journal Asiatique* (*ccix*, p. 284 *sq.*) under the title "Entre le prince Imperial Dārā Shikūh et l'ascete Hindū Bābā Lāl Dāss" by Huart and L. Massignon.

While comparing the text of three afore-said Indian editions with that of the Paris edition, I was surprised to find that the text of the latter materially differs from that of the former, which contains exclusively discourses on asceticism, while the latter, has an extensive theme of various comprehensive subjects relating to Hindū mythology and comparative religion. Since Bābā Lāl was a Hindū Jogi, who probably did not know Persian (as the discourses were carried on in Hindī), it is more likely that he should be questioned by the prince on subjects connected with Hindū religion; the *Mukālama Bābā Lal and Dārā Shikūh*, lithographed at Delhi and Lahore do not seem to have been translated from Hindī, as in both of them we find some answers given by the Faqīr (Bābā Lāl) in Arabic.[18]

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[17] In the *Journal Asiatique*, Paris, Tome ccix, p. 284, *vide*, footnote p. 289 which says, "Ici, la ms. D. adjoute cette glose precicuse:—

از اہلِ فراست چندر بھان برہمن کہ از زبان ہندوی بلسان پارسی تصنیف نمود"

(Lahore edition pp. 12).

[18] *Vide*, Third Discourse, "What are possessions of a *faqīr's* monastery"? Quoth I,

گفتم کہ موجوداتِ تکیہ گاہِ فقیر چیست ؟

The two versions of the discourses are altogether different, the *Nādir-un-Nikāt* and the *Mukālama* do not show any relation with each other except in the partial theme of the ascetic life, (to which the later makes a passing reference) which both discuss in somewhat different manner. Dr. Ethe says,[19] that *Nādir-un-Nikāt* is the work of Dārā Shikūh but he does not quote any authority in favour of his assertion. To me it is neither the dialogue nor a continuation of it. It is the name of the *Risāla'i Ḥaq Numā*, as a MS. copy of the same bears this title.[20]

The MS. copy of the *Mukālama* in the Berlin Library[21] and the Bodleian Library[22] not only agree with each other (as appears from the first lines of the both quoted in their catalogues), but with that preserved in the Oriental Public Library Patna.[23] The French critics have prepared their text by the recension of the Oxford MS. with one other MS.[24]

Quoth he, "The poor is under God's protection!

گفت الفلس فی امان اللہ

Quoth I, "What is suitable for a *faqīr*"?

گفتم برائے فقیر چہ مناسب است؟

Quoth he, "There is no God but one God! گفت لا الہ الا اللہ

All quotations by Wilson in the *Journal Asiatique*, Vol. XVII, (1832), p. 290, *sq*. also seem to have been based on a text similar to Delhi edition.

[19] *Catalogue of Persian MSS.* in the India Office Library, Vol. I, pp. 275.

[20] *Vide, Catalogue Asiatic Society of Bengal.* Curzon Collection.

[21] Perstch, 10,081,2.

[22] *Vide.* Column 781.

[23] *Hand-list of Persian MSS. No. 1449.*

[24] *Journal Asiatique*, 1926, pp. 284.

The nature of the Discourses.

I have throughout followed their text. The discourses are mainly religious in character, yet they touch slightly some topics on mysticism and pantheism—the subjects dealt with are varied and trivial and often their elucidation is obscure; yet from the point of view of comparative mythology, they are of extreme interest. Some of the themes mentioned therein, it would not be out of place to record here:—

1. Characteristics of Ascetic life.
2. On different aspects of Hindū mythology.
3. Divine Soul and Human Soul.
4. On Burial and Cremation.
5. The significance of the Kas͟hī.
6. Idol worship among the Hindūs.[25]
7. On the Creator and the Created.
8. What is Heart?
9. What is Sleep?
10. On Salvation.
11. On the Transmigration of the Soul.

The discourses show the inner soul of the prince, who was capable of viewing different religious tenets synthetically and was deeply interested in the science of comparative religion. Unlike Akbar, Dārā S͟hikūh was not a compound of various aptitudes, but the single feature of his "searchings of heart" was his unlimited interest in the religious systems of the world. These discourses, it must be clearly borne in mind, did not possess the official character of the religious assemblies of opponent faiths convented at the instance of Akbar in the 'Ibādat K͟hāna or the 'house of worship' at Fatehpur Sīkri. They are on the other hand the enquiries of an ardent disciple of the mystic path and the answers of the perfect guide.

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[25] It is to be found in some of the miscellaneous extracts of the *Mukālama* (*viz.* Idol Worship) that they are not only unacceptable but are diametrically opposed to the tenets of the order of Kabīr. For a detailed account of the tenets of Kabīr, *vide.* Carpenter's *Theism in India* (p. 456-470) and Tagore's *One hundred Poems of Kabīr* (London, 1913).—

They can neither be said to have the "polemical and formal character of the official conferences organised among the representatives of rival religions at the court of the Sāssānīd Kings." The French critics justly remark to this effect in the following lines:—

> "Ces entretiens, qui parais avoir réellement eu lieu vers la fin l'annee 1063/1653 n'ont pas le caractere polemique et formaliste de 'colloques' officieux organises entre representants de religions rivales, a la cour des Sāssānides, ce sont des questions posees en toute sympathie et confiance par la prince l'ascetic qu'il lui repond comme a un ami. Si les sujets abordes appartiennent aux domaenes les plus varies de la civilisation traditionnelle de l' Inde (Ou remarqura l'exegese symbolique du Rāmāyana 27-31), le pasage les plus originaux sont ceux ou Dārā Shikūh essaie de faire analyser par Bābā L'āl Dās, en termes hindous, sa propre experience religieuse de Musalmān, et fait part de ses cas de concience."[26]

As regards the significance of Bābā Lāl's adherence to Kabīr's order, the Editors in the Introduction remark, that in it lay the germs of reconciliation of Hinduism and Islam. Finally they pay a very high tribute to the figures of Bābā Lāl and Dārā Shikūh on their attempt at the mutual comprehension of the two spiritual elements:[27]

> "Quant a l'ascete Bābā L'al Dās, son interlocuteur nous avons pu relever, dans la curieuse notice que Dārā Shikūh lui a precisement consacree[28] que c'etait un muṇḍiya,[29] et qu'il etait affilie a la secte des Kabīr qui a protegé, au XVIIIe siecle ce germe de reconciliation genereusement seme, entre l'hindouisme et l'islam. En ce moment ou l'unite de l'Inde depend d'un nouvel effort de comprehension mutuelle entre ces deux elements spirituels, l'attention pent sarreter legitiment sur les physiomies de Dārā Shikūh et Bābā L'āl Das'.

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[26] *Op. cit.*

[27] *Ibid.* pp. 284.

[28] Shaṭhaiāt, Lithographed, Lahore pp. 44.

[29] Muṇḍiaya in Hindī means a shaven-headed monk. The French translators write it as (religieux a tete rasee).

EXTRACTS FROM THE DIALOGUE.

On the Hindū Conception of Nādā and Veda.

Dārā Shikūh: How can one differentiate between the *Nādā* and the *Veda*?

Bābā Lāl: As in the case of a king and his command: the king constitutes the *Nādā* and the *Veda* his command.

On Idol-worship among the Hindus.

Dārā Shikūh: What is the significance of idol-worship among the people of India and who has enjoined upon its practice?

Bābā Lāl: The whole spirit of the practice is for the concentration of mind. One who possesses the knowledge of the spirit, does not concern about the form; but, whosoever is devoid of inner consciousness, must therefore, attach himself to external form. Just as little unmarried girls play with dolls, but when they get married they do not concern themselves with it. Such is the case of idol-worship. Those who do not possess knowledge of the spirit, would certainly strive for its acquisition, through the medium of the form; but as soon as they gain inner consciousness, they would discard the form.

What is Kāshī? Is it conformation in life?

Dārā Shikūh: It is recorded in Hindū scriptures that whosoever dies at Kāshī, as a matter of course, attains salvation. It is an extraordinary phenomenon! Would it not make the pious and the sinner stand on equal footing?

Bābā Lāl: As a matter of fact, Kāshī symbolically signifies real existence (*wajūd*) and whosoever perishes in existence attains salvation.

Dārā Shikūh: Since everyone perishes in real existence, does it mean that all who die attain *muktī* (salvation)?

Bābā Lāl: None except the *Saintete-unitive* (مہاپُورکھ) dies in existence. Humanity dies of passion which is quite distinguishable from real existence. Passion multiplies anon : and under its subjection one is ever deprived of the *muktī*.

Hindu Mythology.

In continuation of his question on the mystic interpretation on some points on Hindū mythology, Dārā Shikūh enquires about a few apparently abtruse matters in the great Indian epic the *Rāmāyana*. This shows that he was thoroughly conversant with Hindū literature and mythology.

Dārā Shikūh: It is evidently recorded in the *Rāmāyana* that when Rāma Chandra conquered Lanka (Ceylon), large number of people on either side were slain. Thereafter he sprinkled (آب‌حیات) *Elixir* on the dead, with the result, that the whole of his own army was brought to life; but, the fallen army of Rāvana, which was also annihilated did not resurrect. Knowing well the established properties of elixir—when sprinkled over the dead, brings them back to life—how can we account for this?

Bābā Lāl : This was due to the fact that at the battlefield Rāvana's host had ever the thought of Rāma uppermost in their minds. The advantage is evident, that with genuine contemplation, men of piety who attain *muktī*, never return to bodily confinement. Since they had been slain on the battlefield and prior to their death, they had the thought of Rāma ever present in their minds, the army of Rāvana attained salvation and did not return again to bodily confinement.

Another interesting question is asked by the prince about Sīta who was abducted by Rāvana.

Dārā Shikūh : How is it that Sīta after being abducted by Rāvana was left unmolested?

Bābā Lāl: Sīta in reality was the Dharma, and as such, it had no relative affinity with the Satan.

The curiosity of the Prince is further aroused and he asks.

Dārā Shikūh: Since Satan could assume the physical form of anyone, why did he not become Rām Chandra?

Bābā Lāl: Sīta loved Rām Chandra's form, but could not be afflicted by Rāvana, when he came in his own form. The characteristics of Rāma had so much ingrained within her that she could have discerned the figure of Rāma in whatever form it appeared.

Dārā Shikūh: Does the recitation of the sacred syllable *Om* leads one to heaven (*Swarga*)?

Bābā Lāl: The syllable *Om* is the best among all the syllables, and the effect of its recitation is as such. This statement is true in the case of one who can distinguish between things genuine and counterfeit—though both may bear a uniform stamp—and whose knowledge is pure and unpolluted.

Dārā Shikūh: According to Hindu religious conception, Sri Krishna appeared in his true form before the *gopīs* at Brajdhām. Can that form be seen by human eyes?

Bābā Lāl: To those who are attached to worldly affairs, this bodyless form is not visible; it is visible only to *faqīrs* and *sadhūs*, who have repressed physical carnal passions and who know how to keep their emotions in check, but at the same time, do not exterminate them in order that their minds may not go astray.

Dārā Shikūh: It is recorded in Persian works that God the Almighty has created man out of the four elements (earth, water, fire and air) but according to Indian conception man is created out of five elements (*pañcha-bhūta*). What is the fifth element?

Bābā Lāl: The fifth element is the *ākāśa*, which is named *Saravan-śakti* (power of hearing) and through which one can feel good and evil. *Saravan-śakti* draws one towards the Almighty.

Dārā Shikūh : In what state a *faqīr* can be said to be detached from the mundane world?

Bābā Lāl : Every living being always eats, drinks, sees, hears and rests. In these matters they are helplessly tied, but one who does these things without being attached to them and who can remain unperturbed even in case of lack of food etc., may be said to be free from mundane attachments.

What is Mind?

Dārā Shikūh : What is the significance of mind?

Bābā Lāl : By saying : "My mind and yours." The mind attracts our souls towards mother, father, brother and women and falls in love. It should be known that the love of duality is through mind.

Dārā Shikūh : What is the shape of mind which is invisible?

Bābā Lāl : It is like the wind?

Dārā Shikūh : How is it?

Bābā Lāl : As the wind uproots the trees but is invisible, in the same way, mind, though it exits in reality, is not visible when it excelerates the five senses. It should therefore be presumed, that the shape of mind is like the wind.

Dārā Shikūh : What are its functions?

Bābā Lāl : It is a go-between of the souls.

Dārā Shikūh : How?

Bābā Lāl : The shop of five senses whom the Indians term the "*Indriyānīs*" stock physical pleasures and communicate them to the souls, with the result, that the latter become entangled in sinful sensuality. Since mind acts as an agent in procuring the commodity from the shop for the buyer, it receives its commission and stands aloof, while the buyer and seller respectively stand to loose or gain in the bargain. In this manner the mind is a go-between of the souls. This is its correct estimate.

The Creator and the Created

Dārā Shikūh: How can one differentiate beween the Creator (*Khāliq*) and the Created (*makhlūq*)? I enquired of a man and he replied, "Like the tree and its seed." Is this true or otherwise?

Bābā Lāl: The Creator is like an ocean and the Created like a clay-jug full of its water; Notwithstanding the uniformity of the water with that of the ocean, the jug gives it a different shape. Such is the difference between the Creator and the Created.

On Human Soul and Divine Soul

Dārā Shikūh: How can the *Paramātmāṇ* become the *Jivātmāṇ* and how does it finally return to its original form?

Bābā Lāl: In the manner of water in wine,—the latter when poured over earth leaves on its surface all intoxicating and alcholic ingredients and what is absorbed in the soil is again water. In the same way human beings endowed with individual soul, when they shake off the existant 'intoxication' of the five senses, become one with the Divine Soul.

On Sleep

Dārā Shikūh: What is that sleep which the Indians call as *Nindra*?

Bābā Lāl: Sleep—it is both the slumber and awakening in pursuit of wordly coveteousness. The real awakening dawns at the cessation of all ideas of worldly possessions (*mā-o-mani*). Love never dies out in the minds of the divines; they ever die (sleep) in it and they ever rise with it.

Dārā Shikūh: What is the sleep of the divines?

Bābā Lāl: His renunciation of all worldly desires and freedom from all personal possessions. In his sleep he dreams not of any material objects. Perhaps in the Indian Yoga, the divines are themselves called the *Nindra*, as they are above worldly slumbers and awakenings.

CHAPTER XII

SIRR-I-AKBAR[1]

Introduction.

The *Sirr-i-Akbar* or 'the Great Secret' is a Persian translation of fifty-two[2] Upanishads by Muḥammad Dārā Shikūh, which was completed in six months, in the year 1067 A.H. (1657 A.D.)[3] at Delhi. The Upanishads, as we know, is the recognized name of the philosophical treatises contained in the Vedas. The etymology and meaning of the word *Upanishad* is disputed both by Indian and European scholars; but according to the view generally accepted, it is derived from the root *sad*, to sit, preceded by the preposition *ni*, down and *upa*, near, so that the whole word would express the idea of sitting down of pupils near their teacher to listen to his confidential teachings. 'Out of this idea of secret session,' observes W. Winternitz,[4] 'the meaning secret doctrine—that which is communicated at such confidential session—was developed. Whenever the word occurs, it has the meaning of doctrine or secret or esoteric explanation.' It is, however, not difficult to conclude from the above that Dārā Shikūh's title *Sirr-i-Akbar* (the Great Secret) to his translation of the Upanishads and his further explanation of the word *Upanekhat*, identifies closely to this meaning as 'the esoteric doctrine or secret explanation'; the latter being explained by him as آیت توحید کہ سر پوشیدنی است *āyat-i-Tawḥīd ki sirr-i-poshīdnī ast*, i.e. verse of monotheism, which is a secret to be concealed. The word as pronounced and written in Sanskrit, according to English orthography is *Upanishad*, in Duperron's Latin version it is *Oupnek'hat* and in French *Upanichat*. The Sanskrit character (ष) answering to English *sh* and French *ch* has been changed into Persian *kh* (کھ); and the Sanskrit terminal *d* (द) has been changed into Persian *t* (ت) aspirated.

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[1] The writer of the present work has edited the *Sirr-i-Akbar* from the oldest MSS. available of the text. The work which is still in the process of collation would be published in 4 volumes.

[2] The number of the Upanishads varies in different MSS. which I have used in preparing the text, but in none of these it is less than 50. MS. *A* (No. 52, in the Āṣifiya Library, Hyderabad-Deccan) on which I have based my text contains 52; MS. *B* (*R.A.S.B.* Cat., p. 178) though incomplete gives the list containing 50, MS. *C* (Calcutta University Library) 50 and MS. *D* 51; while Anquetil Duperron's Latin version of Dārā Shikūh's translation (*Theologica et Philosophia Indica*: *Oupnek'hat id Est Secretum Tegendum*, 1801, Vol. I, p. 13) contains 50, although their number enumerated in the list is 51. Ethe has not given the number of Upanishads in any one of seven MSS. in the India Office (*Cat. of Persian* MSS., Vol. I, Col. 1102-3); while in the British Museum, the only MS. which is complete (Add. 5616) contains 51.

[3] According to an India Office MS. (No. 1976 of the *Cat.*, Vol. I) it is stated on fol. 2*a* that it was finished on the 29th of Ramaḍān A.H. 1067.

[4] *Indian Literature*, Vol. I, p. 242.

The *Sirr-i-Akbar* is divided into the following sections:—

Its Contents.

(1) Preface.
(2) A List of the Upanishads translated.
(3) A Glossary of Sanskrit-Persian Terms.
(4) The Translation of the Upanishads in four parts:—

Book I. Three Upanishads from the *Rig-Veda*.
Book II. Twelve Upanishads from the *Yajur-Veda*.
Book III. One Upanishad from the *Sama-Veda*.
Book IV. Thirty-six Upanishads from the *Atharva-Veda*.

(5) The End.

Of this translation, the earliest mention has been made by Halhed, in the *Historical Fragments of the Mughal Empire*,[5] in 1782 A.D., wherein a brief account of Anquetil Duperron's Latin version of the Persian *Oupnek'hat* of

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[5] Compiled by Robert Orne, London, 1782.

The Translation

Dārā Shikūh is given. To this is affixed an English rendering of the Preface. In the year 1775 A.D., Anquetil Duperron, the renowned discoverer of the *Zend-Avesta*, received a manuscript of the *Sirr-i-Akbar*, sent to him by M. Gentile, the French resident at the court of Shuja‘-ud-Dawla and brought by M. Bernier. This MS. contained fifty Upanishads and comprised of 247 folios[6]; and Duperron after he had collated it with one other MS., translated it into French and Latin. The latter, under the title of *Oupnek'hat id Est, Secretum Tegendum*, with an elaborately written introduction, copious notes and annotations was published in Paris (1801) in two volumes, but the former remains unpublished to this day. Regarding the Latin version, Max Müller remarks,[7] that Anquetil Duperron treated the Persian translation, rendering it into Latin, word for word, retaining in spite of Latin grammar, the Persian syntax and all the Sanskrit words, which Dārā Shikūh had left untranslated. In his *Monitum ad Lectorem*, Duperron says,[8] that in 1656 A.D., Dārā Shikūh caused a Persian translation to be made, with the assistance of Brahmins of Benares, of the *Oupnek'hat*, a work in Sanskrit language of which the title signifies, ‘the word that is not to be said,’ meaning ‘the secret that is not to be revealed.’ The work contains the theological and philosophical doctrines and sacrificial rites of the Hindus as contained in the *Rik Beid* (Rig-Veda), *Djedir Beid* (Yajur-Veda), *Sam Beid* (Sama-Veda) and *Atharban Beid* (Atharva-Veda). It is an extract of four Vedas and gives in fifty sections, the complete system of Hindu theology, which establishes the unity of first Being, whose perfections and operations personified, became the name of principal divinities of the Hindus and demonstrates the re-union of all nature to this first cause, the Deity.

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[6] Full details of this MS. are given by Duperron in his Latin version (*Oupnek'hat id Est Secretum Tegendum*, Vol. I, p. ii).

[7] *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. I, p. lxi.

[8] *Op. cit.*

'This translation, though it attracted considerable interest of scholars,' says Max Muller,[9] 'was written in so utterly unintelligible a style, that it required the lynx-like perspicacity of an intrepid philosopher, such as Schopenhauer, to discover a thread through such a labyrinth.' But nevertheless, it appears, that this secondary translation, which was made by the very first European who went to India for the purpose of studying Oriental religions, is of prime historical importance, for it was the first work which brought a knowledge of Indian philosophy to the West. It is not known whether Schopenhauer did actually read the Persian translation of the Upanishads, whom he 'had the courage to proclaim to an incredulous age, the vast treasures of thought, which were lying buried beneath that fearful jargon,' and that, 'which had been the most rewarding and most elevating reading which there could be possible in the world, that which had been the solace of his life and would be of his death'; but he pays a very high tribute of keen appreciation to Dārā S͟hikūh for his translation. At one place he remarks,[10] that Sulṭān Dārā S͟hikūh, the brother of Aurangzeb, was born and bred in India and therefore, probably understood Sanskrit as well as we our Latin; that moreover he was assisted by a number of most learned Pandits, 'all this gives me a very high opinion of his translation of the Vedic Upanishad into Persian.'

It would be interesting to note that how far Dārā S͟hikūh's Persian translation, exhibited a unique degree of fascination for Indian philosophy in the West. In 1882 A.D., the *Sirr-i-Akbar*, already made available to Europe by Anquetil Duperron, was carried so far as to the third remove from the original Sanskrit, for, in the same year Franz Mis̈chel translated the Latin version into German. Whatever the shortcomings of Dārā Shikūh's Persian translation, its importance lies in the fact, that, although it was originally meant for 'the spiritual benefit of his own self, his children, his friends and seekers of Truth',[11] when the Upanishads were once translated from Sanskrit into Persian, at that time, the most widely read language of the East and understood likewise by many European scholars, they became generally accessible to all, who took an interest in the religious literature of India. It is, however, odd that the *Sirr-i-Akbar*, did not evoke much interest in India, neither at the time it was written nor at a later period; the Muslims did not take much notice of it and its study was generally confined to the Persianized Hindu court nobility of the time. Even to this day, it had been lying neglected and buried under a corner of obscurity.

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[9] *Op. cit.*, p. lviii.

[10] *Parerga*, Vol. II, p. 185.

Much can be said with regard to the nature and quality of the translation. Dārā Shikūh's own assertion is that he has translated 'these *Upanekhats*, which are a treasury of monotheism, and among which the proficient even in the community (Hindu) are very few, without any worldly motive, *word for word, in a clear style*. A comparison with the original Sanskrit text, aptly bears out this statement, with the exception that at a few places, where the cryptic and philosophical sentences of the translation, need explanation in more explicit and unambiguous manner, he has most faithfully followed Śankarāchārya's commentary.[12]

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[11] Preface to *Sirr-i-Akbar*.

[12] Though there is no mention of this fact in the *Sirr-i-Akbar*, but by an elaborate comparison of the Persian text with Śankarāchārya's commentary, I maintain, that in all the major Upanishads, Dārā Shikūh has followed his text and commentary. Śankarāchārya, who lived in the tenth century A.D., restored a critical text of nearly all the fundamental Upanishads of the Vedanta

Apart from the inner structure and the composite and heterogeneous character of the latter,[13] it would be found that disconnected and much repeated sacrificial rituals and dialogues, which form a part of the *Brāhmaṇas*, have been left undisturbed. An attempt has further been made, as would be found in the Sanskrit-Persian Glossary, to adapt the sense of the text, as far as possible, so as to make it more intelligible to the Muslims, by giving suitable word-equivalents from Islamic phraseology, of the Indian philosophical terms and gods. In this respect, the *Sirr-i-Akbar* not only attains the merit of an excellent translation but also possesses the charm of an original work. As for instance, no amount of explanation or commentary would convey a clear idea of Indian deities like *Mahādeva* as *Isrāfīl*, *Viśṇū* as *Mikā'īl* and *Brahmān* as *Jibra'īl*; *or Brahmāṇ-loka* as *'Ālam-i-Dhāt*, *Brahmloka* as *Sadrat-ul-Muntahā* or *Akāśvāṇī* as *Waḥī Prāṇayām* as *Ḥabs-i-Nafs*, *Om* or *Veda*

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philosophy. It is still undecided as to the number of Upanishads on which he wrote his commentaries, although a long list of those ascribed to him has been compiled by Regnaud (*Philosophical de l'Inde*, p. 34) and Fitzeward (*Index of Indian Philosophical System*). But all the twelve principal Upanishads, viz. *Chāndogya*, *Aitereya*, *Kaushîtaki*, *Brihdāraṇyaka*, *Śwetāswātara*, *Kaṭha*, *Taittariya*, *Iśāvāsya*, *Muṇḍaka*, *Kena*, *Praśna* and *Māṇḍūkya*, are admitted on all hands to contain Śankara's commentary. It is with regard to these twelve Upanishads that I am convinced that Dārā Shikūh has followed Śankara's text and his commentary. The only references to this fact in the *Sirr-i-Akbar*, are in one passage in the *Śwetāswatāra-Upanishad* (Fol. 119b) where it is said:

آں بزرگ شنکر اچارج در تفسیرِ ایں آیت می گوید

and the *Muṇḍaka-Upanishad* (Fol. 170a):

شنکر اچارج در تفسیرِ ایں آیت می نویسد

and again at the same place:

تا اینجا تفسیرِ شنکر اچارج بود

[13] The reason offered by Max Müller is that it has been supposed that Śankarāchārya, who in writing his commentaries on the Upanishads, was chiefly guided by philosophical consideration, but it has nonetheless, fulfilled the first and indispensable task in a critical treatment of the text of the Upanishads. (*Ibid.*, p. lxxi.).

mukha as *Ism-i-A'ẓam*. *Om naman* as *Hū Āllāh*, *Mahāpṛalaya* as *Qiyāmat-i-Kubra*, etc.

The Preface.

Dārā Shikūh's preface to the *Sirr-i-Akbar* forms a very interesting study. It is a most revealing document of supreme importance, which must be read in *toto*, for it touches many things besides his spiritual aspirations, which led to the translation of the Upanishads. In the following is given the Preface in the original with a complete English rendering of the same followed by a brief analysis of its salient features :—

دیباچه[14]

حَمدِ ذاتیکه نقطۀ بائی بسم الله در جمیع کتب سماوی از اسرارِ قدیم (اوست)
وَالحَمدُ که اُمّ الکتاب[15] است، در قران مجید اشاره به اسم اعظم اوست، وجمیع کتب
سماوی وانبیا واولیا همه مندرج درین اسم است وَصَلَّی اللّٰهُ عَلیٰ خَیرِ خَلقِهٖ مُحَمَّدٍ
اٰلِهٖ وَاَصحَابِهٖ اَجمَعِین .

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[14] *A* begins with ادم سری گنیش آینمه ओम् श्रीगणेशाय नमो which seems to be a later addition obviously by the Hindu scribe. *D* opens the Preface with the following verse:—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم،

نقطۀ با هست چون سرّ قدیم

C omits the Preface; while nearly all other MSS. begin with: بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم The Latin version adds the superscription: '*Aum*' to the Preface.

[15] *B* and *D* both have: ادم الکتاب which reading is unsatisfactory. Anquetil Duperron's Latin translation (Vol. I) has: *alham am alketab* (inspiratio primae souratae).

اما بعد چون این فقیر بی اندوه، محمد دارا شکوه در سنه ۱۰۵۰ھ یک هزار و پنجاه هجری به کشمیر جنّت نظیر رفته بود، و بجاذبهٔ عنایت الٰهی و فضل نامتناهی، سعادتِ ارادت اکملِ کاملان، زبدهٔ عارفان، اُستادِ اُستادان، پیرِ پیران، پیشوائے پیشوایان، موحّدِ حقائق آگاه حضرت مُلّا شاه سلمه اللّٰه[16] دریافت ۔ و چون ذوقِ دیدنِ عارفان هر طائفه و شنیدن سخنانِ بلند توحید بهم رسیده بود و اکثر کتب تصوف بنظر در آورده و رساله ها تصنیف کرده بود و تشنگیٔ توحید که بحریست بی نهایت، دمبدم زیاده می شد (fol. 2a) و مسئله هائے دقیق. بخاطر می رسید که حلِ آن جُز بکلام الٰهی و اسنادِ (ارشاد) ذات نامتناهی امکان نداشت، و چون قرآن کریم و فرقان عظیم اکثری مرموز است و امروز دانندهٔ آن رمز کمیاب، خواست که جمیع کتب سماوی را به نظر در آورد، تا از همه کلام الٰهی که تفسیرِ خود است (؟) اگر در کتابی مجمل باشد در کتابهائے دیگر مفصل یافته شود و از آن تفصیل آن اجمال دانسته شود ۔ نظر بر توریت و انجیل و زبور و فرقان و دیگر مصحف انداخت، امّا بیان توحید در آنها هم مجمل و مرموز بود، و از ترجمهٔ سهلی که اهل غرض (کرده) بودند، مطلوب معلوم نه گردید ۔

پس در پیٔ آن شد که از چه جهت در هندوستانِ وحدت عیان، گفتگوئے توحید بسیار است و علمائے ظاهری و باطنی طائفهٔ قدیم هند را بر وحدت انکاری و بر موحدان گفتاری نیست بلکه پایهٔ اعتبار است ۔ برخلاف جهلائے این وقت که خود را علما قرار داده اند[16] و در پیٔ قیل و قال و آزار و به کفر و انکارِ خداشناسان و موحّدان اُفتاده، جمیع سخنانِ

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[16] For the life, works and relations of Mullā Shāh with Dārā Shikūh, *vide* the *Visva-Bharati Quarterly*, Vol. VI, Part II (New Series), pp. 134-146 and Vol. VI, Part IV (New Series), pp. 331-345, where the present writer has discussed Dārā Shikūh's relations with the saints of various orders.

[17] *A* reads: خود علمها را قرار داده اند

توحید را که از فرقان حمید و احادیث صحیح نبوی صریح ظاهر است، رو می نمایند و راه زنانِ راه خدا اند ۔

بعد ازیں مراتب معلوم شد که درمیانِ ایں قوم قدیم، پیش از جمیع کتب سماوی، چهار کُتب[18] آسمانی که رِگ بید و جُجر بید و سام بید و اتهربن بید باشد، بر انبیائے آں وقت که بزرگ ترین آنها برهما که آدم صفی الله است، با جمیع احکام نازل شده و ایں معنی از همیں کتابها ظاهر است ۔ و از قرآن مجید نیز معلوم می شود که هیچ قومی نیست که بے کتاب و پیغمبر باشد، چنانچه می فرماید: وَمَا كُنَّا مُعَذِّبِيْنَ حَتّٰى نَبْعَثَ رَسُوْلًا[19] و در آیتِ دیگر: وَاِنْ مِّنْ اُمَّةٍ اِلَّا خَلَا فِيْهَا نَذِيْرٌ[20] و در جائے دیگر می فرماید: لَقَدْ اَرْسَلْنَا رُسُلَنَا بِالْبَيِّنٰتِ وَاَنْزَلْنَا مَعَهُمُ الْكِتٰبَ وَالْمِيْزَانَ[21] پس ازیں مشخّص شد که الله تعالیٰ هیچ قومی را عذاب نکند تا آنکه رسول در آں قوم مبعوث نه شُده باشد، و هیچ اُمّتی نیست که در آں پیغمبری نه گذشته باشد، و تحقیق که فرستاده است رسولان را با معجزاتِ ظاهر، و نازل شده است به ایشاں کتابی و میزان ۔

و خلاصهٔ ایں چهار کتب را که جمیع اَسرارِ سلوک[22] و اشغالِ توحید صرف در آں مندرج است، اُپنکهت می نامند و ابنائے[23] آں زمان بر آں تفسیرهائے به شرح و بسطِ تمام (fol. 2b) نوشته اند و همیشه آنرا بهترین عبادت[24] دانسته اند ۔ ایں حق جوئ خودمبین را چوں نظر بر اصولِ وحدت ذات بود، نه به زبان عربی و سُریانی و عبرانی و سنسکرت، خواست که ایں اُپنکهت ها را که گنج توحید است و دانندگان او در آں قوم هم کم مانده اند، بزبانِ فارسی، بی کم و زیاد، و بی غرضِ نفسانی، بعبارتِ راست، لفظاً بلفظ ترجمه نموده بفهمد که ایں جماعه که آں را از اهل اسلام ایں قدر پوشیده و پنهاں می دارند، در آں چه سرّ است؟

و چوں در ایں ایّام بنارس که دار العلوم ایں قوم است، تعلق به ایں حق جو

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[18] A: کتاب

[19] *Qur'ān*: XVII, 15.

[20] *Qur'ān*: XXXV, 24.

[21] *Qur'ān* LVII, 25.

[22] A: شلوک (*śloka*); Duperron's has *selouk*, translated as 'religiosi instituti'.

[23] A: انبیای

[24] A: عبارت

داشت، پنڈتان و سنیاسیان را که سرآمد وقت در بید و اپنکهت دان بودند، جمع ساخته، خود این خلاصهٔ توحید را که اپنکهت ها یعنی اسرار پوشیدنی باشد و منتهاے مطلب جمیع اولیاء ست، در سنه ۱۰۶۷ هزار و شصت و هفت هجری، بے غرضانه ترجمه نمود و هر مشکلے و هر سخن بلندی که می خواست و طالب آن بود و جست و نمی یافت، ازین خلاصهٔ کتاب قدیم که بے شک و شبه اولین کتب سماوی و سرچشمهٔ بحر توحید است و مطابق قرآن مجید بلکه تفسیر آنست، یافت ۔

و صریح ظاهر می شود که این آیت بعینه در حق این کتاب است: اِنَّهٗ لَقُرْاٰنٌ كَرِيْمٌ فِيْ كِتٰبٍ مَّكْنُوْنٍ لَّا يَمَسُّهٗۤ اِلَّا الْمُطَهَّرُوْنَ تَنْزِيْلٌ مِّنْ رَّبِّ الْعٰلَمِيْنَ[25] یعنی قرآن کریم در کتاب است که آن کتاب پنهان است و اورا ادراک نمی کند مگر دلی که مطهر باشد و نازل شده از پروردگار عالمیان است ۔ و مشخص و معلوم شد که این آیت در حق زبور و توریت و انجیل نیست و از لفظ تنزیل چنین ظاهر می گردد که در حق لوح محفوظ هم نیست و چون اپنکهت که سر پوشیدنی است، اصل این کتاب است (fol. 3a) و آیت هاے قرآن مجید بعینهٔ در آن یافته می شود، پس تحقیق که "کِتٰبٍ مَّكْنُوْنٍ" این کتاب قدیم باشد، و ازین فقیر نادانسته ها را دانسته و نافهمیده ها را فهمیده شد ۔

(و) وقت شروع در ترجمه از مصحف مجید فال کشوده و سورهٔ اعراف برآمد که اوّل این آیت: المص، كِتٰبٌ اُنْزِلَ اِلَيْكَ فَلَا يَكُنْ فِيْ صَدْرِكَ حَرَجٌ مِّنْهُ لِتُنْذِرَ بِهٖ وَذِكْرٰى لِلْمُؤْمِنِيْنَ[26] یعنی الف، لام، میم، صاد، کتابیست که نازل کرده شده به سوئ تو ای محمد صلعم، پس نباشد در سینهٔ تو شکی از آن کتاب،

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[25] *Qur'ān*: LVI, 77, 78, 79.

[26] *Qur'ān*: VII, 1, 2.

و بیم کنی مردمان را و پندیست مومنان را۔

و بغیر از مستفید شدنِ خود و آلِ خود و دوستانِ خود و طالبان حق مطلبی و مقصودی نبوده۔ سعادتمندی که غرضِ نفسِ شوم گذاشته خالصاً لوجه الله، این ترجمه را که به سرِّ اکبر موسوم است، ترجمهٔ کلام الٰهی دانسته، ترک تعصب نموده بخواند و بفهمد، بیزوال و بے خوف و بے اندوه رستگار مؤبد خواهد شد۔

Translation

'Praised be the Being, that among whose eternal secrets, is the dot in the (ب) of the *Bismillāh* in all the heavenly books, and glorified be the mother of books. In the holy *Qur'ān* is the token of His glorious name; and the angels and the heavenly books and the prophets and the saints are all comprehended in this name. And be the blessings of the Almighty upon the best of His creatures, Muḥammad and upon all his children and upon his companions universally!

'To proceed: whereas this unsolicitous *faqīr*, Muḥammad Dārā Shikūh in the year A.H. 1050 went to Kashmir, the resemblance of paradise, and by the grace of God and the favour of the Infinite, he there obtained the auspicious opportunity of meeting the most perfect of the perfects, the flower of the gnostics, the tutor of the tutors, the sage of the sages, the guide of the guides, the unitarian accomplished in the Truth, Mullā Shāh, on whom be the peace of God.

'And whereas, he was impressed with a longing to behold the gnostics of every sect, and to hear the lofty expressions of monotheism, and had cast his eyes upon many books of mysticism and had written a number of treatises thereon, and as the thirst of investigation for *Tawḥīd*, which is a boundless ocean, became every moment increased, subtle doubts came into his mind for which he had no possibility of solution, except by the word of the Lord and the direction of the Infinite. And whereas the holy *Qur'ān* is mostly allegorical, and at the present day, persons thoroughly conversant with the subtleties thereof are very rare, he became desirous of bringing in view all the heavenly books, for the very words of God itself are their own commentary; and what might be in one book compendious, in another might be found diffusive, and from the detail of one, the conciseness of the other might become comprehensible. He had therefore, cast his eyes on the Book of Moses, the Gospels, the Psalms and other scriptures, but the explanation of monotheism in them also was compendious and enigmatical, and from the slovenly translations which selfish persons had made, their purport was not intelligible.

'Thereafter he considered, as to why the discussion about monotheism is so conspicuous in India, and why the Indian theologians and mystics (*'Ulema'i ẓāhirī wa bāṭinī*) of the ancient school do not disavow the Unity of God nor do they find any fault with the unitarians, but their belief is perfect in this respect; on the other hand, the ignoramuses of the present age—the highwaymen in the path of God—who have established themselves for erudites and who, falling into the traces of polemics and molestation and apostatizing from and disavowing the true proficients in God and monotheism, display resistance against all the words of unitarianism, which are most evident from the glorious *Qur'ān* and the authentic traditions of indubitable prophecy.

'And after verifications of these circumstances, it appeared that among this most ancient people, of all their heavenly books, which are the *Rig-Veda*, the *Yajur-Veda*, the *Sama-Veda* and the *Atharva-Veda*, together with a number of ordinances, descended upon the prophets of those times, the most ancient of whom was Brahmān or Adam, on whom be the peace of God, this purport is manifest from these books. And it can also be ascertained from the holy *Qur'ān*, that there is no nation without a prophet and without a revealed scripture, for it hath been said : *Nor do We chastise until We raise an apostle* (Qur'ān: XVII, 15). And in another verse : *And there is not a people but a warner has gone among them* (Qur'ān: XXXV, 24). And at another place: *Certainly We sent Our apostles with clear arguments, and sent down with them the Book and the measure* (Qur'ān: LVII, 25).

'And the *summum bonum* of these four books, which contain all the secrets of the Path and the contemplative exercises of pure monotheism, are called the *Upanekhats*, and the people of that time have written commentaries with complete and diffusive interpretations thereon; and being still understood as the best part of their religious worship, they are always studied. And whereas this unsolicitous seeker after the Truth had in view the principle of the fundamental Unity of the Personality and not Arabic, Syriac, Hebrew and Sanskrit languages, he wanted to make without any worldly motive, in a clear style, an exact and literal translation of the *Upanekhat* into Persian. For it is a treasure of Monotheism and there are few thoroughly conversant with it even among the Indians. Thereby he also wanted to solve the mystery which underlies their efforts to conceal it from the Muslims.

'And as at this period the city of Benares, which is the centre of the sciences of this community, was in certain relations with this seeker of the Truth, he assembled together the *pandits* and the *sannyāsis*, who were the most learned of their time and proficient in the *Upanekhat*, he himself being free from all materialistic motives, translated these essential parts of monotheism, which are the *Upanekhat*, *i.e.* the secrets to be concealed, and the end of purport of all the saints of God, in the year 1067 A.H.; and thus every difficulty and every sublime topic which he had desired or thought and had looked for and not found, he obtained from these essences of the most ancient books, and without doubt or suspicion, these books are first of all heavenly books in point of time, and the source and the fountain-head of the ocean of Unity, in conformity with the holy *Qur'ān* and even a commentary thereon. And it becomes clearly manifest that this verse is literally applicable to these ancient books: *Most surely it is an honoured Qur'ān; in a book that is protected. None shall touch it save the purified ones. A revelation by the Lord of the worlds* (Qur'ān: LVI, 77, 78, 79, 80).

'It is evident to any person that this sentence is not applicable to the Psalms or the Book of Moses or to the Gospel, and by the word "revelation", it is clear that it is not applicable to the Reserved Tablet (*Lauḥ-i-Maḥfūẓ*); and whereas the *Upanekhat*, which are a secret to be concealed and are the essence of this book, and the verses of the holy *Qur'ān* are literally found therein, of a certainty, therefore, the hidden book is this most ancient book, and hereby things unknown became known and things incomprehensible became comprehensible to this *faqīr*.

'At the commencement of the translation, he opened the pages of the holy *Qur'ān* to take an augury and the Sura *al-A'rāf* came up of which the first verse is thus: *I am Allāh, the best knower, the Truthful. A Book revealed to you—so let there be no straitness in your breast on account of it—that you may warn thereby and a reminder to the believers* (Qur'ān: VII, 1, 2); and he had no intention and no purpose except for the spiritual benefit of his own self and of his children, his friends and the seekers of Truth.

'Happy is he, who having abandoned the prejudices of vile selfishness, sincerely and with the Grace of God, renouncing all partiality, shall study and comprehend this translation entitled the *Sirr-i-Akbar* (the Great Secret), knowing it to be a translation of the words of God, shall become imperishable, fearless, unsolicitous and eternally liberated.'

When analysed, the Preface to the *Sirr-i-Akbar* throws much light on Dārā Shikūh's spiritual longings, his thirst for religious investigation and attitude towards Hinduism. Briefly, it can be summarized as follows:—

(1) Invocations, praise of God and Muḥammad.

(2) He visits Kashmir in A.H. 1050 (A.D. 1640) and meets his spiritual teacher Mullā Shāh.

(3) He asserts that he had come into contact with saints of various orders and sects and had studied to a great extent works on mysticism.

(4) His desire for investigation for Truth made him collect into view all the heavenly books with the object of seeking illumination on many spiritual and religious matters.

(5) In the *Qur'ān*, he finds some passages allegorical and for the clarification of these, he entertains no doubt 'that there was no possibility of solution except by the word of the Lord,' he therefore, studies the Book of Moses, the Gospels, the Psalms, etc., but 'the slovenly translations of interested persons' fail to satisfy him.

(6) He then turns towards Hinduism, 'where there is so much discourse on the *Tawḥīd*, and finds that both in its outer and inward forms 'there is no disavowal of Divine Unity.'

Thereafter he treats with contempt 'the ignoramuses of the present age, the highwaymen in the path of God who have established themselves as erudite and often molest and harass the true lovers of Monotheism.'

(7) The *Vedas*, to him appear as 'the essence of Monotheism,' and he translates the *Upanishads* 'without any worldly motive' in 1067 A.H. with the help of learned

Pandits of Benares and gives his translation the title of *Sirr-i-Akbar* (Great Secret), for, he regards the *Upanishads* as Divine Secrets.

In support of his assertion he cites this verse from the *Qur'ān*: *Most surely it is an honoured Qur'ān; in a book that is protected. None shall touch it save the purified ones. A revelation by the Lord of the worlds.* Commenting on the verse, he observes, that it became literally applicable to the Upanishads, which are 'secrets to be concealed' and the essence of this book and the verses of the Holy *Qur'ān* are literally found therein. 'Of a certainty, therefore,' he remarks, 'the hidden book is this most ancient book and hereby things unknown became known and things incomprehensible became comprehensible to this *faqīr* (Dārā Shikūh).

(8) He was afraid lest such bold an assertion might shock the orthodox Muslim ecclesiasts, so he adds, that he had translated the *Upanishads* for his own spiritual benefit and for the religious advancement of his children, his friends and the seekers of Truth, and not for the general public.

The Number of the *Upanishads.*

The number of the Upanishads translated by Dārā Shikūh in the *Sirr-i-Akbar*, is fifty-two; but their original number as given by various scholars is not the same. According to Weber,[27] so far it can be relied upon, it is two hundred and thirty-five. Both in the *Mahāvakyamuktāvali* and *Muktikā-Upanishad*, it is one hundred and eight: Max Müller[28] counts them as one hundred and fifty-nine; and Haug gives this number as one hundred and seventy, but apart from the exact determination of the total number of the Upanishads, it is admitted on all hands, that out of these twelve form as the source for the history of the earliest Indian philosophy. These called by W. Winternitz[29] as 'the Vedic-Upanishads', viz. *Aitereya*, *Bṛihdāraṇyaka*, *Chāndogya*, *Taittiriya*, *Kaushitaki*, *Kena*, *Kaṭha*, *Śwetāṣvatara*, *Praśna*, *Iśāvāsya*, *Maṇḍūkya*, *Muṇḍaka*, have all been included by Dārā Shikūh in the *Sirr-i-Akbar*. The remaining, whatever their true number, are classified as 'the non-Vedic-Upanishads,' only few of them having real traditional connection with the Vedic schools, mostly contain the religious doctrines rather than philosophical ideals of a much later period. Of this category Dārā Shikūh has included forty in his translation. As I have already remarked, this number varies slightly in different MSS.[30] of the text, which I have utilized, between fifty and fifty-two. In the following is given the list and the order in which they appear in MS. *A* on which I have principally based my text:

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[27] *History of the Sanskrit Literature*, p. 155.

[28] An alphabetical list published in 1865 in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft*, XIX, p. 137-158.

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[29] *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. I, p. 239.

[30] Full details of the MSS. used, are given later on, while Anquetil Duperron's Latin version, based on a MS. transcribed decidedly earlier than 1775 A.D. contains only fifty Upanishads in the following order:—

1. Oupnek'hat *Tschandouk* é Sam Beid.
2. Oupnek'hat *Brehdarang* é Djedjr Beid.
3. Oupnek'hat *Mitri* é Djedjr Beid.
4. Oupnek'hat *Mandek* ex Atharban Beid.
5. Oupnek'hat *Eischavasieh* é Djedjr Beid.
6. Oupnek'hat *Sarb* ex Atharban Beid.
7. Oupnek'hat *Narain* ex Atharban Beid.
8. Oupnek'hat *Tadiw* é Djedjr Beid.
9. Oupnek'hat *Athrb* ex Atharban Beid.
10. Oupnek'hat *Hensnad* ex Atharban Beid.
11. Oupnek'hat *Antrteheh* é Rak Beid.
12. Oupnek'hat *Kok'heuk* é Rak Beid.
13. Oupnek'hat *Santaster* é Djedjr Beid.
14. Oupnek'hat *Pors* ex Atharban Beid.
15. Oupnek'hat *Dehanbandhu* ex Atharban Beid.
16. Oupnek'hat *Maha* ex Atharban Beid.
17. Oupnek'hat *Atma Pra Boudeh* ex Atharban Beid.
18. Oupnek'hat *Keïoul* ex Atharban Beid.
19. Oupnek'hat *Schat Roudri* é Djedjr Beid.
20. Oupnek'hat *Djog Schak'ha* ex Atharban Beid.
21. Oupnek'hat *Djogtau* ex Atharban Beid.
22. Oupnek'hat *Schiw Sanklap* é Djedjr Beid.
23. Oupnek'hat *Athrb Schauk'ha* ex Atharban Beid.
24. Oupnek'hat *Atma* ex Atharban Beid.
25. Oupnek'hat *Brahm Badia* ex Atharban Beid.
26. Oupnek'hat *Anbrad Bandeh* ex Atharban Beid.

Book I. From the *Rig-Veda*: (3). (*Fol.* 1a—26b.)

(1) Aitereya-Upanishad.
(2) Kaushitaki-Upanishad.
(3) Vāśkala-Upanishad.

Book II. From the *Yajur-Veda*: (12). (*Fol.* 27—143b.)

(4) Śivasaṅkalpa-Upanishad.
(5) Śatarūdriya-Upanishad.
(6) Bṛihadāraṇyaka-Upanishad.
(7) Maitri-Upanishad.
(8) Swetāsvatara-Upanishad.
(9) Īśāvāsya-Upanishad.
(10) Tadeva-Upanishad.

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27. Oupnek'hat *Tidjbandeh* ex Atharban Beid.
28. Oupnek'hat *Karbheh* ex Atharban Beid.
29. Oupnek'hat *Djabal* ex Atharban Beid.
30. Oupnek'hat *Mahanaraïn* é Djedjr Beid.
31. Oupnek'hat *Mandouk* ex Atharban Beid.
32. Oupnek'hat *Schekl* ex Atharban Beid.
33. Oupnek'hat *Tschehourka* ex Atharban Beid.
34. Oupnek'hat *Prahm Hens* ex Atharban Beid.
35. Oupnek'hat *Arank* ex Atharban Beid.
36. Oupnek'hat *Kin* ex Atharban Beid.
37. Oupnek'hat *K'hiouni* ex Atharban Beid.
38. Oupnek'hat *Anandbli* é Djedjr Beid.
39. Oupnek'hat *Bharkbli* é Djedjr Beid.
40. Oupnek'hat *Bark'heh Soukt* é Djedjr Beid.
41. Oupnek'hat *Djounka* ex Atharban Beid.
42. Oupnek'hat *Amrat Lankoul* ex Atharban Beid.
43. Oupnek'hat *Anbratnad* ex Atharban Beid.
44. Oupnek'hat *Tachhakli* é Djedjr Beid.
45. Oupnek'hat *Tark* ex Atharban Beid.
46. Oupnek'hat *Baskal* ex Rak Beid.
47. Oupnek'hat *Ark'hi* ex Atharban Beid.
48. Oupnek'hat *Pranou* ex Atharban Beid.
49. Oupnek'hat *Savnk* ex Atharban Beid.
50. Oupnek'hat *Narsing'heh* ex Atharban Beid.

(*Oupnek'hat id Est Secretum Tegendum*, Vol. I, p. 13.)

(11) Mahānārāyaṇa-Upanishad.
(12) Bhṛigavallī-Upanishad.
(13) Purushasūkta-Upanishad.
(14) Ānandaballī-Upanishad.
(15) Chhāgeleya-Upanishad.

Book III. From the *Sama-Veda*. (*Fol.* 144a—168b.)

(16) Chāndogya-Upanishad.

Book IV. From the *Atharva-Veda*. (*Fol.* 169b—253a)

(17) Muṇḍaka-Upanishad.
(18) Sarva-Upanishad.
(19) Nārāyaṇa-Upanishad.
(20) Atharvaśirah-Upanishad.
(21) Haṃsanānda-Upanishad.
(22) Praśna-Upanishad.
(23) Dhyānbindu-Upanishad.
(24) Mahā-Upanishad.
(25) Ātmaprabodha-Upanishad.
(26) Kaivalya-Upanishad.
(27) Yogaśikha-Upanishad.
(28) Yogatattva-Upanishad.
(29) Atharvaśikha-Upanishad.
(30) Ātma-Upanishad.
(31) Brahmavidyā-Upanishad.
(32) Amritavindu-Upanishad.
(33) Tejovindhu-Upanishad.
(34) Garbha-Upanishad.
(35) Jāvala-Upanishad.
(36) Māṇḍūkya-Upanishad.
(37) Piṅgala-Upanishad.
(38) Cūlika-Upanishad.
(39) Paramahaṃsa-Upanishad.
(40) Āruṇika-Upanishad.
(41) Kena-Upanishad.

(42) Kaṭhaka-Upanishad.
(43) Kshurika-Upanishad.
(44) Mṛityulangula-Upanishad.
(45) Amritanāda-Upanishad.
(46) Taraka-Upanishad.
(47) Praṇava-Upanishad.
(48) Ārsheya-Upanishad.
(49) Śaunaka-Upanishad.
(50) Narsiṇha-Upanishad.
(51) Vāmautaravāṇī-Upanishad.
(52) Gopālautaravāṇī-Upanishad.

The Transliteration

The inaccuracy of the transliteration of Sanskrit words into Persian is the chief defect of the *Sirr-i-Akbar*, but perhaps, Dārā S͟hikūh's aim was not altogether philological, and so no uniform method of transliteration has been followed. Indianized forms of letters, e.g. کھ, *kh*; گھ, *gh*; چھ, *ch*; تھ *th*; ٹ, *ṭ*; ٹھ, *ṭh*; بھ, *bh*, etc. which do not exist in Persian have been freely used. No distinction has either been made between the nasals, viz. ञ, *ñ* (*med. palat.*); ङ *ṅ* (*gutt.*); ण, *ṇ* (*ling.*) and न, *n* (*dent.*) and all have been transliterated as ن, *n*. In many cases it is not possible to distinguish between hard and sonant consonants. More often letters have either been omitted, added or interchanged, so as to give a more convenient Persianized pronunciation, e.g. addition of ن, *n* in the terminal and interchanging of ब, *b*, ب with व, *v*, و, as in اَتهربن for *Atharva*; substitution of ज, *j*, ج, for य, *y*, ی as in ججر for *Yajur*; of त, *t*, ت for द, *d*, د as in اُپنکهت for *Upanishad*; of क, *k*, ك for ग, *g*, گ as in رك for *Rig*; of स, س *s*, for श, *ś*, ش as in بهوت آکاس *Bhūtākāśa*, etc. Even these glaring inaccuracies form an inconsistent process, which has further been worsened by the orthographical mistake made by various scribes, who had probably no knowledge of Sanskrit and have very often transformed the original word into something quite unrecognizable. So far as possible, I have identified all the Sanskrit words and given in the footnotes their correct reading. The following table of transliteration, though not quite perfect in itself, may to some extent, help in this respect :—

क, *k*, ك e. g. in ارك, *arka* or in برهم لوك *Brahmāṇloka*.

ख, *kh*, کھ e.g. in کھنڈپرلی *Khanḍaparalaya*.

ग, *g*, گ e.g. in هرن گربھ *Hiraṇyagarbha*, or سرگ *Swarga* ; often interchanged with ك, e.g. in کرتش *gritsa*.

घ, *gh*, گھ e.g. in گھرت *ghrit*.

च, *ch*. چ e.g. in مریچ, *marīchi*; اردھرچ, *ardharcha*.

छ, *ch* (*palat.*), چھ, e.g. in چھاندرگ, *Chāndogya*.

ज, *j*, ج e.g. in جیو آتما *jivātman*; جاگرت *jagrit*.

झ, *jh* (*palat.*) جھ.

ञ, *ñ* (*med. palat.*) ن e.g. in یاچن, yāchña.

ण, *ṇ* (*nas. ling.*), ن, e.g. in پرانایام *prāṇayām* ; or نارائن, *Nārāyaṇa*.

ङ, *ṅ* (*nas. gutt.*) ن e.g. in آنگرس, *āṅgrisa*.

न, *n* (*dent.*), ن e.g. in نراکار *Nirākāra*.

य, *y*, ی, but more often as e.g. in جوگ تت *Yogatattva*.

श, *ś and* ष, *sh*, ش or س e.g. in آکاس باني *Akāśavānī* ; پرش *Purusha*, etc.

त, *t*, ت, e.g. in تموگن, *tamoguṇa*.

थ, *th* (*dent. asp.*), تھ e.g. in پاگاتھ *Pāgātha*; اُدگیتھ, *Udgītha* ; sometimes as ت, *t*, e.g. in اُکت *Uktha*.

द, *d*, د e.g. in دیو, *Deva*; درس پورنماس, *Darśapūṛaṇmās*; sometimes as ت, *t*, e.g, in اُپنکھت, *Upanishad*.

ध, *dh* (*dent. asp.*). دھ, e.g. in بدھی *Buddhī*, سمادھی, *Samādhī*.

ल, *l*, ل e.g. in لوکپالان, *Lokapālan*

ऌ, *l* (*semivocalis mollis*), ل.

स, *s*, س, e.g. in سپن, *swapna* ; سالج *Sālajya*.

ट, *ṭ*, ٹ or ت, e.g. in ورات, or وراٹ, *Virāṭa*.

ठ, *ṭh* (*dent. asp.*) ٹھ.

ड, *ḍ* (*med. ling.*) ڈ, e.g. in برهمانڈ, *Brahmāṇḍa.*

ढ, *ḍh* (*med. asp.*) ڈھ.

र, *r*, ر, e.g. in راجسو, *Rājsūya.*

प, *p*, پ, e.g. in پامانی, *pāvamānī* پرهت *Prahuta.*

फ, *ph* (*Lab. asp.*), پھ.

ब, *b*, ب e.g. in برهم *Brahmāṇ*; بریهتی *Brihati.*

व, *v*, و, e.g. in وایو, *vāyū*; very often interchanged with ب, *b*, e.g. in بیسوانر, *Vaiśwanara*; بجر, *Vijara*; بید, *Veda*; بامدیو *Vāmadeva*, etc..

भ, *bh*, بھ e.g. in بیبهردواج, *Bibharadvaga*; بُهوتلوك *Bhūtloka.*

ह, *h*, ه, e.g. in اهھ, *aha*; اناهت, *Anāhita.*

अ, *a*, ـَ.

इ, *i*, ـِ.

अ, *a*, ا e.g. in انترجامی, *Antrayāmin.*

आ, *ā*, آ, e.g. in آپ, *āp.*

इ, *i*, اِ, e.g. in اندریانی, *Indriyāni.*

ऊ, *u*, اُ e.g. in اُکت, *Uktha*; اُودان, *Udāṇa.*

The Text.

With regard to the Persian text, I have endeavoured, so far it was practicable, to compare the major Upanishads with the Sanskrit original and if still at a few places, it remains cryptic, disconnected and unsatisfactory, it is because the translator, who has rendered into Persian portions of Śankarāchārya's classical commentary, has not distinguished the text of the *Upanishads* from the former. He has mixed up the both, without any thought of proper classification and arrangement of each separately. This intermixed and disjointed character of narrative, which constitutes a very substantial defect of the translation, has further been intensified by the fact that each *adhyāya* with its various *khaṇḍās* has not been classified as in the original Sanskrit text. The metrical portions of the Sanskrit text have also been treated in the same manner and the *ślokas*, *triṣṭubhs* and *anuṣṭubhs* have been mixed up with the non-metrical portion. The *Brāhmaṇas*, mostly containing a collection of utterances and discussions of learned priests upon sacrificial rites, cosmogonic myths and ancient legends, have been incorporated fully and often repeated. This does not in any way minimize the value of the work, but makes the text extremely unpalatable.[31] Not too often the *Āraṇyakas*[32] have been omitted in the Persian translation, as for instance, in the *Aitereya-Upanishad* the first *Āraṇyaka* has been entirely left out, while the second and the third *Āraṇyakas* known as the *Mahāitereya* have been retained.

The translation at some places is too literal and very vague, but it is faithful to the original, and nowhere Dārā Shikūh has tried to take liberty with the text. The scope of the present work being limited, I cannot do better than give a few passages from the original Sanskrit and their Persian translation by Dārā Shikūh in order to illustrate my remarks. From the translation, its simple and unaffected style would be manifest. In many cases, the original Sanskrit words, which due to philosophical and technical considerations, have been left untranslated, make things more comprehensible than their mere equivalents in Persian would have done.

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[31] Both Sylvian Levi and W. Winternitz call these *Brāhmaṇas* as 'priestly pseudo-science.' Even Max Müller remarks that however interesting the *Brāhmaṇas* may be to the students of Indian literature, they are of small interest to the general reader. The greater portion of them is simply twaddle, and what is worse, theological twaddle. No person, who is not acquainted beforehand with the place which the *Brāhmaṇas* fill in the history of Indian mind, could read more than ten pages without being disgusted (cited in the *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. I, p. 187).

[32] The *Āraṇyakas* or 'forest texts' as distinguished from sacrificial or ceremonial rites contained in the *Brāhmaṇas*, are hardly distinguishable from the Upanishads. They are in fact, component parts of the *Brāhmaṇas*, but contain only 'the mysticism and symbolism of sacrifice and priestly philosophy.'

I

Sanskrit

आत्मा वा इदमेक एवाग्र आसीन्नान्यत् किञ्चन मिषत् स ईक्षत् लोकान्नु सृजा इति सइमाँल्लोकानसृजत अम्भो मरीचिर्मरमापः अदोऽम्भः परेण दिवन्द्यौः प्रतिष्ठान्तरिक्षं मरीचयः पृथिवी मरो या अधस्तात्ता आपः स ईक्षतेमे नु लोका लोकपालान्नु सृजा इति सोऽद्भ्य एव पुरुषं समुद्धृत्यामूर्च्छयत्तमभ्यतपत्तस्याभितप्तस्य मुखं निरभिद्यत यथाण्डं मुखाद्वाग्वाचोऽग्निः ।

(Ait. Upan. I.1,1—3).

Persian

اوّل زهمه پیدائش، آتما یگانه بود و هیچ نه بود. آتما خواهش کرد که پیدائش عالم کنم. اینهمه عالمها پیدا کرد و اوّل این چار چیز پیدا کرد. انبه، مریچ، مرو، و آپ. انبه آبیست که جای بودن آن بالای بهشت است، و مریچ عالم فضاست که پایین بهشت است، و مرو عالم زمین است که بیرندها در وی میباشند، و آپ آبیست که در زیر جمیع طبقاتِ عالم زمین است.

باز آن آفریننده خواهش کرد که این عالم را پیدا کرده است، نگهبانان هم پیدا کند، تا بی نگهبانان عالم ابتر نگردد. ازینجهت خواهش کرد که لوکپالان راکه نگهبانانِ عالم اند، پیدا کند. ازمیانِ آب هیکلی شخص بحواس برآورد. و برای او آفریننده خواهش کرد دهنی پیدا شود مثل بیضه که بشکند. دهن شگافته شد و از آن دهن گویائی بهم رسید، و از گویائی موکلِ گویائی که آتش است، ظاهر شد.

fol. 11. b. ایتریه اپنکهت

II

Sanskrit

द्वा सुपर्णा सयुजा सखाया समानं वृक्षं परिषस्वजाते।
तयोरन्यः पिप्पलं स्वाद्वत्ति अनश्नन्नन्यो अभिचाकशीति ॥

(Muṇḍaka Upan. III, 1.)

Persian

دو پرندهٔ خوب اند و هر دو همنشین اند و بیک دیگر یار اند و در یک درخت میباشند۔ و یکی ازان دو، میوهٔ آن درخت را شیرین دانسته میخورد و دومی هیچ چیز نمیخورد و می بیند۔

مراد ازین دو پرندهٔ که یکی میخورد، و دیگری نمیخورد و می بیند، آنکه میخورد جیو آتما است و آنکه نمیخورد پرم آتما است۔ و مراد از درخت بدن، و مراد از میوهٔ آن درخت که شیرین دانسته میخورد، نتیجهٔ اعمال است و آن پرنده که میوهٔ آن درخت میخورد، بسبب نادانی از حقیقتِ خود واقف نیست و ازهمین جهت در گرد آزار است۔ وقتیکه بر حقیقتِ پرندهٔ که نمیخورد و می بیند، مطلع شود، او هم از خوردن باز ماند و مثلِ او شود یعنی از قیدِ عمل فارغ و بی فکر و بی اندوه میگردد۔

fol. 173b. اُپنکهت مُندک از اتهربن بید

III

Sanskrit

यस्तु सर्वाणि भूतानि आत्मन्येवानुपश्यति।
सर्वभूतेषु चात्मानं ततो न विजुगुप्सते॥
यस्मिन् सर्वाणि भूतानि आत्मैवाभूद्विजानतः।
तत्र को मोहः कः शोकः एकत्वमनुपश्यतः॥

(Īśavāsya Upan. 6-7.)

Persian

هرکه همه عناصر و همه عالم را در خود به بیند، و خود را در همه عناصر و در همه عالم به بیند، او را هیچ چیز در نظر او بد نمی نماید و از هیچ چیز نفرت نکند و هیچ چیز در نظر او بد نمی نماید، چه عارف و گیانی که همه خود شده است و او را دوم نمانده است با که محبّت کند و با که نفرت نماید؟

fol. 826a, اِیسا باس اُپنکهت

IV

Sanskrit

प्रतर्दनो ह वै दैवोदासिरिन्द्रस्य प्रियं धामोपजगाम युद्धेन पौरुषेण च तं हेन्द्र उवाच प्रतर्दन वरं ते ददानीति स होवाच प्रतर्दनस्त्वमेव वृणीष्व यं त्वं मनुष्याय हिततमं मन्यस इति तं हेन्द्र उवाच न वै वरं परस्मै वृणीते त्वमेव वृणीष्वेत्यवरो वै तर्हि किल म इति होवाच प्रतर्दनोऽथो खल्विन्द्रः सत्यादेव नेयाय सत्यं हीन्द्रः स होवाच मामेव विजानीह्येतदेवाहं मनुष्याय हिततमं मन्ये यन्मां विजानीयां त्रिशीर्षाणं त्वाष्ट्रमहनमवाङ्मुखान्यतीन्सालावृकेभ्यः प्रायच्छं बह्वीः संधा अतिक्रम्य दिवि प्रह्लादीनतृणमहमन्तरिक्षे पौलोमान् पृथिव्यां कालकाश्यांस्तस्य मे तत्र न लोम च नामीयते स यो मां विजानीयान्नास्य केन च कर्मणा लोको मीयते न मातृवधेन न पितृवधेन न स्त्येयेन न भ्रूणहत्यया नास्य पापं च न च कृषो मुखान्नीलं वेत्तीति।

(Kaush. Upan. III, 1.)

Persian

راجه پرتردن پسر راجه دیوداس راجه بنارس، بزور جنگ و مشقت بمنزلِ اِندر رسید۔ اِندر باو گفت هرچه میخواهی از من بخواه که بتو دهم۔ راجه پرتردن جواب داد که من نمیدانم که بهبود من در چه چیز است، در هرچه بهبود من باشد شما آنرا خود بمن دهید۔ اِندر گفت که من از خود برای تو چه چیز بدهم؟ تو بخواه تا من بتو بدهم۔ راجه گفت شما که بر من می اندازید، میل دادن چیزی ندارید۔ اِندر این سخن را شنیده، از اقراری که داده بود برنگشته، قبول کرد و از حق نگذشت، برای آنکه او عین حق بود۔

گفت که بهبود تر اُو جمیع آدمیان درین است که مرا بدانید۔ هر که مرا دانسته است من او را بسیار آزار داده ام۔ چنانچه جنی را که سه سر داشت چون او را معرفت حاصل نشده، او را کُشتم۔ و سنیاسیانی که صاحبِ معرفت نشده اند و نظر بر محسوسات داشتند، من همه آنهارا به گرگان قسمت کرده ام۔ و بسیاری از اهل شهوت و لذت را، از عالمِ خود که بهشت باشد، زده دور کردم۔ و بسیاری از جنیان را که معرفت نداشتند کُشتم۔ درین عالم فضا هم گشتم، و در زمین هم۔ و قوم کلاکنج از جنیانِ بی معرفت را کشتم و با آنکه این قدر بے معرفت را کُشته ام، یکموی مَن ضائع نشد، و ازین قدر کشت و خونِ هیچ گناهگار نشُدم۔

همچنین هر که مرا بداند، از هر گناهی و بدی که بکُند گناهگار نشود و از مقامِ اعلای خود نیفتد و اگر احیاناً مادر را بکشد یا پدر را بکشد یا طلا را دُزدی بکند و خواه براهمنِ بیددان را بکشد و هر قدر گناهیکه کند روشنی چهرهٔ او کم نگردد۔

fol. 19b—20a. کوکھیتکی اُپنکھت

V

Sanskrit

अथ यदिदमस्मिन्ब्रह्मपुरे दहरं पुण्डरीकं वेश्म दहरोऽस्मिन्नन्तराकाशस्तस्मिन्यदन्तस्तदन्वेष्टव्यं तद्वाव विजिज्ञासितव्यमिति ॥१॥ तं चेद्ब्रूयुर्यदिदमस्मिन् ब्रह्मपुरे दहरं पुण्डरीकं वेश्म दहरोऽस्मिन्नन्तराकाशः किं तदत्र विद्यते यदन्वेष्टव्यं यद्वाव विजिज्ञासितव्यमिति ॥२॥ स ब्रूयाद्यावान्वा अयमाकाशस्तावानेषोऽन्तर्हृदय आकाश उभे अस्मिन् द्यावापृथिवी अन्तरेव समाहिते उभावग्निश्च वायुश्च सूर्याचन्द्रमसावुभौ

विदद्युन्नक्षत्राणि यच्चास्येहास्ति यच्च नास्ति सर्वं तदस्मिन् समाहितमिति ॥३॥ तं चेद्ब्रूयुरस्मिँश्चेदिदं ब्रह्मपुरे सर्वँ समाहितँ सर्वाणि च भूतानि सर्वे च कामा यदैनज्जरामाप्नोति प्रध्वँसते वा किं ततोऽतिशिष्यत इति ॥४॥ स ब्रूयान्नास्य जरयैतज्जीर्यति न वधेनास्य हन्यत एतत्सत्यं ब्रह्मपुरमस्मिन्कामाः समाहिता एष आत्मापहतपाप्मा विजरो विमृत्युर्विशोको विजिघित्सोऽपिपासः सत्यकामः सत्यसंकल्पो.... . . . . .॥५॥

(Chānd. Upan. VIII. 1, 1-5.)

Persian

بیانِ شهر خُدا

اندرین برَهم پور یعنی شهر خُدا که تن است، حجرهٔ است خورد، مانند نیلوفر، و درو آکاسِ لطیف است. و آنچه دران آکاسِ لطیف است، آنرا باید جُست و دانست.

اگر کسی پُرسد که درین شهر خدا که حجرهٔ خورد است مانند نیلوفر و درو آکاسِ لطیف است، درمیان آن چیست که آنرا باید جست و دانست؟

در جواب باید گفت که آنقدر آکاسی که بیرون است، همانقدر درونِ آن حُجرهٔ خورد هم است. آسمان و زمین هر دو درو گنجیده است و آتش و باد و آفتاب و ماه و برق و ستارگان، و هرچه دراینجا هست، و دراینجا نیست، همه دران آکاسِ لطیف است.

و اگر کسی پرسد که دران شهر خدا که تن است، اینهمه گنجیده است و همه چیزها و آرزوها درو است، چون پیر شود و نابود شود، چه چیز باقی میماند؟

او را چنین در جواب باید گفت که از پیریٔ آن تن آکاس لطیف پیر نمی شود، و از کُشتن کُشته نمیشود. همه حق است این شهر خُدا که درو همه چیزها گنجیده است. و آن آتما است که از همه بدیها دور است، و پیری و مرگ و بیماری و اندوه و آزار و خوردن و آشامیدن ندارد. راست آرزو است و راست عزم.

fol. 163b. اُپنکهت چهاندگ

VI

Sanskrit

उषा वा अश्वस्य मेध्यस्य शिरः। सूर्यश्चक्षुः वातः प्राणः
व्यात्तमग्निर्वैश्वानरः, संवत्सर आत्माश्वस्य मेध्यस्य।
दचौः पृष्ठमन्तरीक्षमुदरं पृथिवी पाजस्यम्, दिशः पार्श्वे,
अवान्तर दिशः पर्शवः, ऋतवोऽङ्गानि, मासाश्चार्धमासाश्च
पर्वाणि अहोरात्राणि प्रतिष्ठाः, नक्षत्राण्यस्थीनि, नभो मांसानि।
ऊवध्यं सिकताः, सिन्धवो गुदाः, यकृच्च क्लोमानश्च पर्वताः,
ओषधयश्च वनस्पतयश्च लोमानि, उदयन् निम्रोलञ्च घनार्धः,
यद् विजृंभते तद् विदयोतते, यद् विधूनुते तत्स्तनयति, यन्मेहति
तद् वर्षति वागेवास्य वाक्॥

(Bṛih. Upan. I, i, 1.)

Persian

سرِ آن اسپ پاک صباح است، و چشم او آفتاب و پرآن او باد، و دهن کشادهٔ آن آتش بیسوانر یعنی
حرارت عزیزی که در کُل عالم است) و بدن او یک سالِ تمام، و پشت او بهشت، و شکم او فضا، و سمِ او این زمین،
و پهلوهای او جهات، و استخوانهاے او پهلوی کنجهای جهات، و اعضای باقی مانده او فصل ها، و مفاصل او
ماه ها و نصف ماه ها، و پاهای او شب و روز چهار قسم است و استخوانهای باقی او ستاره های ثوابت، و گوشت
او ابر و غذای او ریگ، و رگهای او دریاها، و جگر و سپرز او کوه ها، و پشم او سبزه ها، و موهای او درختها،
و نصف پیش بدنِ او نصف اول روز، و نصف آخر بدن او نصف آخر روز، و خمیازهٔ او درخشیدن برق
و تکانیدن او غرش ابر، و تابش او باران و شاشیدن او گویائی.

fol. 34a. پرهدارنک اپنکهت

VII

Sanskrit

आदित्यो ब्रह्मेत्यादेशस्तस्योपव्याख्यानमसदेवेदमग्र आसीत्तत्सदासीत्तत्समभवत्तदाण्डं निरवर्तत तत्संवत्सरस्य मात्रामशयत तन्निरभिदयत ते आण्डकपाले रजतं च सुवर्णं चाभवताम् ॥१॥

तद्यद्रजतँ् सेयं पृथ्वी यत्सुवर्णँ् सा द्यौर्यज्जरायु ते पर्वता यदुल्बँ् स मेघो नीहारो या धमनयस्ता नद्यो यद्वास्तेयमुदकँ् स समुद्रः ॥२॥

अथ यत्तदजायत सोऽसावादित्यस्तं जायमानं घोषाउलूलवोऽनूदतिष्ठन्त सर्वाणि च भूतानि च सर्वे च कामास्तस्मात्तस्योदयं प्रति प्रत्यायनं प्रति घोषा उलूलवोऽनुतिष्ठन्ति सर्वाणि च भूतानि सर्वे चैव कामाः ॥३॥

(Chānd. Upan. III, 19 1-3.)

Persian

در بیان پیدائش عالم که اوّل بصورت بیضه پیدا شده

اوّل هیچ نه نبود، همین هست مطلق بود. خواست که آشکار شود، از وی بیضهٔ ظاهر شد، آن بیضه یکسال ماند. پس آن بیضه شگافته شد، نصف پوست آن طلا شد و نصف دیگر نقره.

و آن نصف که نقره شد زمین است، و آن نصف که طلا شد آسمان است. و بچه دانی که دران میباشد و تری دارد، ابر و برق شد، و رگها دریا شد، و از آبی که در آن بچه دان است، بحر محیط ظاهر شد.

و بچه که دران پیدا شد، آفتاب است، و از ظاهر شدن آن آفتاب، شعاع عظیم در کرهٔ عالم افتاد و جمیع موجودات از جمادات و نباتات و حیوانات با جمیع خواهشها و آرزوها و مرادها موجود و حاضر شدند.

fol. 147b. اُپنکهت چهاندوگ

VIII

Sanskrit

द्वे वाव ब्रह्मणो रूपे मूर्तं चैवामूर्तं च मर्त्यं चामृतं च स्थितं च यच्च सच्च त्यच्च ॥१॥ तदेन्तन्मूर्तं यदन्यद्वायोरन्तरिक्षाञ्च एतन्मर्त्यम् एतत्स्थितम् एतत् सत्। तस्यैतस्य मूर्तस्य एतस्य मर्त्यस्य एतस्य स्थितस्य एतस्य सत एष रसो य एष तपति सतो ह्येष रसः ॥२॥ अथामूर्तम् वायुश्चान्तरिक्षं च एतदमृतम् एतदचत् एतत्त्यत् तस्यैतस्यामूर्तस्य एतस्यामृतस्य एतस्य यतः एतस्य तस्यैष रसो य एष एतस्मिन्मण्डले पुरुषः तस्य ह्येष रसः——इत्यधिदैवतम् ॥३॥

(Brih. Upan. II, 3, 1-3.)

Persian

برهم را دو صورت است و شش صفت ۔ و آن دو صورت یکی شکل و دوم بی‌شکل، و شش صفت فانی و بیزوال، محدود و بیحدود، و ظاهر تر از ظاهر و باطن تر از باطن ۔ و آنچه سوای باد و فضاست شکل دارد و آنچه شکل دارد، باین سه صفت که فانی و محدود و ظاهر است، موصوف گشته ۔ و چشم آفتابیکه می تابد خلاصهٔ این هر سه (صفات) است، زیرا که چشم آفتاب خلاصهٔ چیزیست که بلوازم خود ظاهر است ۔ و آنچه بی‌شکل است، باد و بهوت آکاش است، و بی‌شکل باین سه صفت که بیزوال و محیط و باطن است، موصوف گشته ۔ و خلاصهٔ او پرتنی است که درین چشم تابندهٔ آفتاب تصرف دارد، یعنی در موکل آفتاب، زیرا که موکل آفتاب خلاصهٔ چیزیست که بلوازم خود نهانست ۔

fol. 52a. اُپنکهت بریهدارنک

IX

Sanskrit

ब्रह्मवादिनो वदन्ति। किं कारणं ब्रह्म कुतः स्म जाता जीवाम केन क्व च संप्रतिष्ठाः। अधिष्ठिताः केन सुखेतरेषु वर्त्तामिहे ब्रह्मविदो व्यवस्थाम् ॥१॥ कालः स्वभावो नियतिर्यदृच्छा भूतानि योनिः पुरुष इति चिन्त्यम्। संयोग एषां नत्वात्मभावादात्माप्यनीशः सुखदुःखहेतोः ॥२॥ ते ध्यानयोगानुगता अपश्यन्देवात्मशक्तिं स्वगुणैर्निगूढ़ाम् ॥ यः कारणानि निखिलानि तानि कालात्मयुक्तान्यधितिष्ठत्येकः ॥३॥

(Śvētāśvatār, Upanishad I, 1—3.)

Persian

جمعی از طالبانِ حق یکجا شده گفتند که عالمیکه پیدا شده، مادّه پیدائش این برہم است یا چیز دیگر؟ ما جانداران از کجا ظاهر شده ایم، و در چه چیز میباشیم و بقوت و قدرت که کار و بار میکنیم؟ و از که در شادی و غم میباشیم؟ اصل اینهمه چیست، آن اصل را تحقیق بکنیم۔ و آنکه گفته شد که مادۀ پیدائشِ عالم برہم است یا چیز دیگر جمعی میگویند که همین زمانه، مادۀ پیدائش عالمست که از و پیدا میشود و در و میباشد و در و محو میشود و در و فرو میرود، و بعضی میگویند که خود بخود می آید و خود بخود میباشد و خود بخود میرود، و جماعۀ میگویند که پیدا کننده هست، امّا عالم از وی اختیار پیدا شده، و جمعی میگویند که پیدا کنندۀ همه عناصر است و هر چه هست، از عناصر پیدا شده است، و جمعی میگویند که پیدا کننده همه اعتدالِ سه صفت است که آنرا پرکرت میگویند، و جمعی میگویند که سببِ پیدائش عالم شخصی است که آنرا ہرن گربهه میگویند فکری باید کرد که اینها سببِ پیدائش میتواند شد یا نه؟

fol. 115a. اُپنکهت سیوتاس واتر

MSS. of the *Sirr-i-Akbar* are not rare, but out of a large number of them, I have made a very critical selection :—

MSS. used for the preparation of the Text.

(1) MS. *A*. For the basis of my text, I have principally used MS. 52. (*Cat. of the Āṣifiya Library*, Vol. II, p. 1540), Foll. 253; 24½ × 15 cm.; 15 lines, 9 cm. long; written in plain and clear *Nasta'līq*; with chapters and Sanskrit names written in bold letters and marked in red, transcribed by one As̲h̲arfī Lal b. Kewal Rām b. Pratīt Rā'i b. Suk̲h̲ī Lāl, dated 1166 A. H. 1157 Faslī, 1807 Bikrami, 1750 A.D.[33] in the H.E.H. the Nizam's State Library, Hyderabad-Deccan. It was the arrangement and classification of the Upanishads grouped under each of the four Vedas, which made the task more convenient, for in no other MS. such arrangement exists. This MS. which through the kindness of the Vice-President of the library, I had at my disposal for more than 6 months at Santiniketan, I found in close agreement with MS. *C*, with the exception of the afore-mentioned classification of chapters and a few minor variations in the method of transliteration of Sanskrit names.

(2) MS. *B*. No. E/103, dated 1210 A.H. in the collection of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal (*Cat. of Persian MSS.*, p. 178), which though incomplete is quite good in other respects. The order of the Upanishads in this MS. as compared with *A* is as follows :—

16, 6, 7, 4, 9, 18, 19, 10, 20, 21, 2, 8, 22, 23; 24, 25,

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[33] This date of transcription is wrongly given as 1067 A.H. in the *Catalogue of the Āṣifiya Library*, Vol. II, p. 1540, in the case of all the three MSS. (Nos. 1, 2, and 52) which are in the Library's collection. This date is in reality the date of the composition of the work as stated in the preface of the *Sirr-i-Akbar* (fol. 2*b*, MS. *A*). In the colophon of MS. 52 (fol. 253*a*) someone has tried to scratch out the original date of its transcription in order to make the MS. look earlier. The real date seems to be 1166 A.H. =1157 Faṣlī=1807 Bikramī=1750 A. D.

26, 5, 27, 28, 4, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 11, 36, 37, 38, 43, 39, 40, 41, 42, 14, 12, 13, 44, 15, 46, 48, 49, 50.

(3) MS. *C* in the Calcutta University Central Library, whose Librarian very kindly lent it to the Department of Islamic Culture, Santiniketan, for my use, for more than a year, is a beautiful specimen of ornamental calligraphy. It is written on fine hand-made paper and contains Foll. 310, 27½ × 15 cm.; 15 lines 11½cm. long, in plain *Nastaʻlīq*. Each chapter is decorated with ornamental flowery designs in gold, red and blue, each line is intercepted with tri-coloured bold lines, each page contains marginal flowery embellishments and each chapter opens with a verse (decidedly a later addition) inserted within a bunch of flowers. There is no colophon, hence the name of the scribe and the date of its transcription (which appears to be a recent one) could not be ascertained. The translator's preface is also missing and in the end, there is an additional chapter which ends abruptly. The MS. contains 50 Upanishads and is otherwise complete and perfect. The order is as follows:—

16, 6, 7, 17, 31, 41, 43, 34, 32, 9, 22, 39, 4, 20; 40, 18, 29, 30, 36, 24, 25, 26, 5 27, 28, 42, 14, 12, 13, 38; 8, 10. 12, 45, 33, 23, 21, 3, 15, 19, 35, 37, 44, 11, 46, 48, 47, 49, 50.

The Glossary.

The most remarkable feature of the *Sirr-i-Akbar*, as pointed out above, consists in its aptness of translation of Sanskrit philosophical terms or giving their nearest equivalents from Islamic phraseology. In this Dārā S̲h̲ikūh has been chiefly guided by his own understanding of Indian mythology, cosmogony, symbolical interpretation of the ritualistic and sacrificial rites and has attempted, so far as it was conceivable, to give an identical or a more easily comprehensible term from the Islamic conception of the same. This he has accomplished more throughly in his *Majmaʻ-ul-Baḥrain* or 'the Mingling of the Two Oceans.' I have selected, at random, some of these terms, which would amply bear out the ingenuity of the translator in this respect :[34]

اوم (*Om*): اسم بزرگ 97*b*.

اسو، آشو (*aśva*):
حرکت دهندهٔ همه، 8*b*.
ذات اسپ ترکياست 34*b*.

امرت (*amrita*) : آب حيات 65*b* ;
بیزوال 99*b*, 164*b*.

آل (*Ilya*) : درخت طوبی 15*b*.

اشوتها (*aśvattha*):
درخت بهشت 165*a*.

اناهَد (*anāhata*): آواز مطلق 104*a*.

انبهه (*ambhas*) : آبیست که جائي
بودن آن بالائی بهشت است
11*b*.

انترجامی (*antrayāmin*) : آنکه درمیان
دل باشد و سرّ دل بداند
4*a*, 128*a*.

آنند (*ānanda*): خوشحالي 150*a* ;
سرور محض 134*b*.

آنند سروپ (*ānandswarūpa*):
عین سرور 119*b*.

آنگرس (*āṅgirasa*) زبدهٔ اعضاء ;
انگ (*aṅga*) اعضاء ;
رس (*rasa*): زبده 38*b*.

اوپاسنا (*upāsana*) : مشغولی 3*b*.

اودیا (*avidyā*) : جهالت و نادانی
164*b*, 146*a*, 40*b*.

اوستها (*awastha*) : حالت 13*a*.

اوستهائی جاگرت (*Jagrat*)
عالم بیداری

سُپن——(*swapna*) : حالت خواب

سوشوپت——(*Sashupat*) حالت
آرام بخواب

تریا——(*Turīyu*) : حالت بزرگترین
114*b*.

آسن (*āsana*) : طریق نشستن وقتِ
مشغولي 3*b*.

آسَت (*a-satta*) : باطل و دروغ 40*a*.

اُکت (*uktha*) : هزار آیت بید 5*a*.

آکام (*akāma*) : بیخواهش 79*b*.

اگیانی (*Ajñanî*): نادان 165*a*.

آر (*Āra*) : حوض کوثر در بهشت
سوم 165*a*.
خندقی که از خواهش و غضب
و حرص و شهوت ساخته
شده است 15*b*.

اُدگیتهه (*udgītha*) : قراءت باهنگ
3*b*, 144*a*.
Etymological explanation :
اُد (*ud*): عالم بشهت ;
گي (*gī*): عالم فضا and
تهه (*tha*) : زمین 145*a sq*.

آتما (*ātman*): جان جانها 3*a*, 24*b*.

پرم آتما (*Paramātman*): جان بزرگ
23*a*, 24*b*.

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[34] Numericals in the Glossary indicate the number of folios of the MS. of *Sirr-i-Akbar* (No. 52) in the Āṣifiya Library, Hyderabad-Deccan (*Cat.*, Vol. II, p. 1540).

جيو آتما (*Jivātman*) : روح متعلق
شده ببدن 3*a*, 13*b*.

بهوت آتما (*Bhūtātmān*) : روح
حيوانى 3*a*.

لنگ آتما (*Lingātman*) : آتمائيكه
در بدن لطيف است 55*b*.

اشوميد، اشميد (*aśva-medha*) :
اسپ قربان 60*a*.

آهار شدّهى *āhāra-śuddhī* :
خورشهائي حلال 163*a*.

آشا (*āśa*) : آرزوئى نايافته 161*b*.

اِيشاداس (*Iśāvāsya*) : ايش (*Iśa*) :
صاحب همه ;
باس (*nāsya*) پوشيده 125*a*.

اپراجت (*aparajit*) : شهر برهما
165*a*,

اتواِدن (*ativadin*) : [آنكه] بنهايت
سخن رسيده است 162*a*.

'پ (*āp*) : آبيست كه در زير جميع
طبقات عالم زمين است 11*b*; 99*b*.

آبراهمن (*a-Brāhmaṇa*) : غير عارف
149*a*.

اُپنكهت (*Upanishad*) : آيت توحيد
كه سر پوشيدنى است
2*a*, 3*b*, 169*a*.

بريهتي (*Brihati*) ; نام بزرگ همه و
زنها 7*b* ;
هزار ايت بيد 10*a*.

برهما (*Brahmān*) آدم صفي اللّه 2*b*,
جبرئيل 3*b*.

برهم (*Brahm an*) : آفريدگار 3*a*, 151*a*.

برهمپور (*Brahmapura*) : شهر خدا
163*a*.

برهم گِر (*Brahmagiri*) : كوه خدا 8*a*.

برهم لوك (*Brahmaloka*) : عالم ذات
82*a*, 117*b*.

برهم چكر (*Brahma-Chakra*) : چرخ
خدا كه در گردش است

برهمانڈ (*Brahmāṇda*) : كرۀ عالم
4*a*, 64*a*.

برهم بديا (*Brahmavidyā*) : علم
توحيد 134*b* ;
معرفت برهم 150*a*.

بيسوانر (*Vaiśvanara*) : حرارت
عزيزئى كل عالم 3*b*.

بجر (*Vijara*) : حوض كوثر 15*b*.

بدهاتر (*Vidhātri*) : سازندۀ همه
100*a*.

بياپك (*Vyāpak*) : محيط و بسيار
بزرگ 81*ā*.

بهوت آكاس (*Bhūtākāśa*) : محيط
عناصر اربعه 3*a*, 7*b*.

برن (*Varuṇa*) : موكل آب 8*a*,
120*b*, 127*a*.

برهسپت (*Bṛihaspati*) : مشترى 112*b*.

بشن (*Viśṇū*) : ميكائيل 3*a*, 132*a*.

بششت (*Vasiśṭha*) : پناۀ همه

بسوا متر (*Viśwamitra*) : دوستدار
همه عالم 9*a*.

بهرگ (*Bharga*) : سوزندۀ گناهان
99*a*.

بل (*Bala*) : قوّت 160*b*.

پرجاپت (*Prajapati*) : صورت کل عالم
6*a*. 130*a*.

پرم گت (*Paramgatî*) : حالت بزرگ
108*a*.

پران (*psāna*) : نفس

پرانایام (*prāṇayām*) : حبس نفس 3*b*.

پرکرت (*prakṛitî*) : اعتدال سه
صفت 3*b* 115*a*.

پرنو (*Praāṇav*) : پروردگار مطلق
نام اللّٰه 98*b*.

پرلی (*pralaya*) : قیامت 4*a*.

مهاپرلی (*mahāpralaya*) : قیامت کبری
4*a*.

کهنڈپرلی (*Khaṇḍpralaya*) : قیامت
صغری 4*a*.

پرم آنند (*Paramānanda*) : سرور بزرگ
76*b*.

جوت (*Jyoti*) : نور ذات 40*a*.

جگ (*Yajña*) : قربان 3*a*.

جیو آتما (*Jivātman*) : روح متعلق
شده ببدن 3*b*.

جوگ (*Yoga*) : یک کردن دو چیز را
4*a*.

جوگی (*Yogi*) : عارف, سنیاسی 101*b*.

جم (*Yama*) : ملك الموت 126*k*, 113*a*.

شش جوگ (6 *Yoga*) :
(۱) پرانایام (*praṇayām*) : حبس
نفس
(۲) پرتیاهار (*Pratyāra*) : ضبط
حواس از بیرون و اندرون
(۳) دهیان (*Dhāna*) : تصور
بستن بیک چیز خاص
(۴) دهارنا (*Dhāraṇa*) : مضبوط
ساختن تصور در آن چیز
(۵) ترک (*Tarka*) : یقین درست
کردن
(۶) سمادهی (*Smādhṭ*) : درو محو
شدن 123*b*.

تیت (*Tyat*) هُو 65*b*.

تم (*Tamo*) بموت, 40*a* ; راست
دانستن کثرت و دوئی 40*a*.

تموگن (*Tamoguṇa*) : صفت افنا 95*a*.

تریا (*Turîya*) : عالم لاهوت که عالم
ذات است 120*a*.

تپسیا (*tapasa*) : ریاضت 3*a*, 134*b*.

دهیان (*Dhyāna*j : تصور ; 3*b* تصور
بستن بیک چیز خاص 103*b*

دهارنا (*Dhārṇa*) : مضبوط ساختن
تصور 103*b*.

دهاتری (*Dhatri*) : همه دارندۀ 100*a*.

رك (*rik*) : آیت 145*a*.

رجوگن (*Rajoguṇa*) : صفت ایجاد
3*b*.

سام (*Sāmān*) : آیت 144*b*; Ety. Exp.;
39*b*. پران=(۱)م گویائی=سا

سالج (*Sālaja*) : نام شهر که اشاره
ازین به فردوس اعلی است
15*b*.

سپت رکهیشر (*Saptv-rishī*) بنات
النعش 53*a*.

ستوگن (*Sattva-guṇa*) : صفت ابقا.
3*b*.

سپن انت (*Swapnanta*) : 157*a*.
سوامپت (*Svampita*) یافتن خود 157*a*.
سرشت (*Sristī*) : پیدائش 41*ab*.
سوپت, سکهوپت, سکهپت (*Sashupata*) : عالم جبروت که حالت خواب بارام است
ست (*Sat*) : حق 99*b*; ست مطلق 155*a* ; راستی 162*a* ;
سمر (*Smara*) : یاد (حافظه) 161*b*.
سمراج (*Samrāj*) پادشاه کل عالم 100*a*.
سنجم (*Sañjam*) : ضبط حواس بیرونی
سنّیاس (*Sannayāsa*): ترك كل 4*a*, 19*b*, ترك ماسوائی الله 133*a*.
سوم (*Soma*) : آبحیات
سُوتیجس (*Sutejas*): نور اعلی 154*a*.

شاستر (*Sastra*) : شریعیت 169*b*.
شبد (*Sabda*) : آواز مرکب از الفاظ
اشبد (*a-śabda*): آواز مطلق 104*b*.
شلوك (*Sloka*) : آیت بید

كپل گیانی (*Kapala-Jañanin*): مجمع ارواح که روح محمدی باشد 3*a*; عارف بزرگ 12*aff*.

گن (*guṇa*): آگاهی 36*b*.
گیان (*Jañana*) : معرفت 14*a*, 147*b*, 126*a*.
گیانی (*Jañanin*) : عارف 4*a*.

لوك (*Loka*) : عالم 3*a*.
سرگ لوك (*Swargaloka*) : عالم بهشت 58*b*, 164*b*.
بهو— (*Bhñloka*) عالم زمین 50*b*.
برهما— (*Brahmaloka*) : سدرة المنتهی که مقام جبرئیل است 3*a*.
گندهرپ— (*Gandharvaloka*) عالم ملائك نغمه خوان 76*a*,

ماترا (*mātra*) : مدت خواندن یك حرف مفرد 3*b*.
مایا (*Māya*) : ارادت ازلی که سبب نمود بی بود است 3*b*.
مریچ (*Marīchi*) : عالم فضا که پائین بهشت است 11*b*.
مکت (*Muktī*) : رستگاری 73*b*, 81*a*.
من (*man*) : آدم ابوالبشر 136*b*.
مُنو (*Manu*) : آدم اول ابوالبشر است 169*a*.
مهاباك (*Mahāvāk*) : منتر بس بزرگ
مهادیو (*Mabādeva*) : اسرافیل 43*b*.

ناد (*Nāda*) : آواز مطلق 3*b*.
نرگن (*Nirguṇa*) : مطلق 108*a*.
نچهتر منڈل (*Naskshatra-manala*): ستاره‌ها 65*a*.
ناراین (*Nārayaṇa*) : آتمائی بزرگ 131*b*.

ورات (*Vraṭā*) : صورت کل عالم 39*a*.

وگنان، [وجنان] وگنان (*Vijñāna*): دانائي 160*a*.

وشواروپ (*Viśwarūpa*) : صورت عالم 154*a*.

هرن‌گربهه (*Hiraṇyagarabha*): مجمع عناصر بسیط 136*b*.

هردی آکاس (*Hṛdy-ākāśa*) : فضائی که درمیان دل است 70*ab*.

هنس (*Hamsa*) جیو آتمائی عالم 100*a*, 119*b*.

هوم (*Homo*) انداختن چیزها در اتش 3*a*.

INDEX

A

Abdāl, 51
'Abdul Ṣamad (*Shirīn Qalam*), 159
'Abdul Qādir Jilānī, 46 *ff.*, 122, 124; geneology of, 46 f.n.
'Abdullāh Anṣārī, 34
'Abdur Raḥīm (*'Anbarīn Raqam*), 169
Absolute Self, 153, 226
Absolute Sound, 225
Abrār, 51
Abul Arwāḥ, 28, 224
Abul Faḍl, 159, 169; and Alberūnī, 192*ff;* exposition of Indian Sciences, 193 *ff;* on Artists and Painters, 159; on Akbar's taste for learning, 187; his pursuit of Indian philosophy, 104 *sq.*, translation of *Gītā,* 237; on the practical life of the Hindus, 195 *ff.*, his translations from Sanskrit, 196; on the *Vyākaraṇa,* 191 *sq.*
Abul Faraj, 117
Abū Bakr Wāṣtī, 40
Abu-'l-Hudhail, 25
Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr, 174
Abū Jehl, 105
Abū Sa'īd Abul Khair, 132
Abū Ṣālīḥ Damishqī, 136
Abū Zaid Sīrafi, 177
Adhamiyya (order), 67
Afḍal Khān, 134
Afḍal-ud-Dīn (Sarkhush), 131
Ahaṃkār-Tamas, 231 f.n.;—*Sattva,* 132
Āhata, 225
Aḥmad Jān, 132
Aḥmad Ḥanbal (Imām), 46
Ā'īn-i-Akbarī, 45, 159, 238; its preface, 193 *ff.*, list of artists in the, 159
Ajā'ib-ul-Hind, 177
Ajapā, 33 f.n.
Akāra, 226
Ākāśavāṇī, 226
Akbar, 45, 90, 158, 159, 160, 188, 189, 190, 237; on pictorial art, 158; introduction of miniature painting, 160; the spirit of the translations made for 189 *ff;* liberal outlook of, 189 *ff.;* spirit of enquiry initiated by, 190; Sanskrit scholars in the court of, 188 *ff.*
Akhbār, 51
'Ālam (Plane), 99; *-i-Arwāḥ,* 126; *-i-Aḥdiayat wa Tamkīn,* 127; *-i-Dhāt,* 127; *-i-benafas,* 127; *-i-Ghaib,* 126; *-i-berang,* 127; *-i-Huwwiyya,* 127; *-i Jabrūt,* 75, 127; *-i-Khwāb,* 127; *-i-Laṭīf,* 126; *Lāhūt;* 127; *-i-Mithāl,* 72, 126; *-i-Lāzim,* 127; *-i-Malakūt,* 72, 126; *-i-Nāsūt,* 72, 92
'Ālamgīrnāma, 2, 13, 14
Album (of Dārā Shikūh), 168, 173
Alberūni, 177; his knowledge of Indian Sciences, 85; his translations from Sanskrit, 186; and Abul Faḍl, 192 *ff.*
al-Diyānāt (of al-Irānshahrī), 179
al-Fihrist, 176
al-Fatḥ al-Rabbānī, 46
al-Fatūḥāt, 123
al-Ḥallāj, 109
al-Ḥaq, 226
al-Ḥujwīrī, 89
al-Millal wal Nihal, 179
al-Sharistāni, 179
'Alīm, 226
Allāh, 31, 226
'Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ, 2
Amīr Khusrau, 186 *sq.*
Amṛit-Upanishad, 225
Anahatā, 224, 226
'Anāṣir, 220
Anuśṭubhs, 276

Antāḥkaraṇa, 231
Aphorisms, 52
Apostleship and Saintship, 33 *ff.,—tanzīhī,* 35;—*tashbīhī,* 35; —*Jāma' al-tanzihiya wa'l tashbihiya,* 35
Āqā 'Abul Rashid, 158, 159
Arabic literature on Indian Sciences, 179
Āraṇyakas, 276
'Ārif, 35, 67, 110, 114, 115
Asaṅga, 226
Ashghāl (Physical Exercises), 124, 125, 220
Asha'a'i Lama'āt, 124
'Āshiqs, 67
Asthān (of *Bābā Lālīs*), 239
Astromental Plane, 73 *ff.,* 126
'Atā-ullāh Rashīdī, 208
Atharban-Veda, 256
Ātmān (Soul), 218
'Attār, 132
August Existence, 28
Aurangzeb, 19, 81, 103, 104
Autād, 51
Āward-burd (controlling of breath), 29
'Awālim-i-Arba'a, 220
Āwāz-Muṭlaq, 225

B

Bābā Lāl, 5, 6, 10, 137; *Mukālama* of, 239 *ff.,* meets Dārā Shikūh, 241 *sq.*; *Ka Saila,* 240, reference to the *Dialogues* of, 242 *ff.;* text of the Discourses of, 244; nature of the *Discourses* of, 247 ff.
Bābā Lālīs, 239 *ff.*; religious tenets of the, 240-241
Bābā Piyāri, 137
Badāūnī, 196 *ff.*
Baghdād, 174
Bahār-i-Sukhan, 165, 166
Baḥr-ul-Ḥayāt, 208
Baḥr al-Asmār, 204
Baharistān-i-Shāhī, 205
Bait-al-Ḥikmat, 175
Bandgī Muḥammad Ghauth, 47
Banvalī Dās, 214
Baqā (Subsistence), 29
Bārī, 112
Barmak, 175
Baṣīr, 226
Bāṣīra, 229
Beal, 81
Beid (*Veda*), 256
Bernier (*Travels*), 3, 16, 81, 101, 256
Bhāgwat Gītā, 6, 10; *see also Gīta.*
Bhaktī-mārga, 241
Bismillāh, 264
Binyan, 171
Brahma Siddhānta, 186
Brahma Vidya, 13
Brahmān (Jibra'īl), 225, 232, 259
Brāhmaṇas, 276
Brahmāṇda, 221, 227, 228
Brihdāraṇyaka-Upanishad, 225
Barzakh, 221
Buddha, 194
Buddhī, 231

C

Calcutta Review, 61 f.n.
Calligraphy (as art), 159
Caramathians, 89 f.n.
Carpenter, 274 f.n.
Catalogue of Indian Collections in the Museum of Fine Arts, Bostan, 161
Cecil L. Burns, 158
Cedar-Heart, 125
Chander Bhān *Brāhman,* 134, 215, 243, 244, 245
Chahār Chaman, 244
Chāndogya-Upanishad, 225 f.n.
Chakśuh, 230
Chetana, 224
Chishtī (order), 44, 84, 90
Chishtiyya, 67
Chitta, 231
Comparative Mythology (Dialogues on), 239 ff.
Contemplation, 27
Court Painters of the Grand Mughals, 159

D

Dabistān-i-Madhāhib, 80, 100
Dādū, 241
Dārāpur
Dārā Shikūh, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 24, 26, 27, 35, 37, 38, 41, 45, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 65, 66, 69, 70, 81, 83, 90, 91, 96, 97, 99, 102, 104, 114, 129, 132, 134, 135, 137, 144, 145, 158, 165, 175, 177, 211, 213, 237; and Miān Mir, 60; account of meeting with Mullā Shāh, 83; and fine arts, 158–173; a patron of poets' 134; and painting, 165; account of European writers about, 16-17; as a man, 18; association with divines of various religious orders, 4 *ff.*; and Islam, 9; appreciation of calligraphy and painting, 160 *ff.*; approach of Indian philosophy, 210 *ff.*; aims as a lover of comparative religion, 17; belief in miracles, 69–70; chronogram on Mullā Shāh, 81; devotion to Qādirī order, 56; denounced as a heretic, 13-14; doctrine of *Tawḥīd* and 20 *ff.*; Divine Communion and 37 *ff.*; *Diwān* and Quatrains of, 129 *ff.*; 145 *ff.*; his superstitions and dreams, 41; his works on Saints and Mysticism, 9; his knowledge of Sanskrit, 212; hetrodox verses of, 137; his initiation into the Qādirī order, 5; his theosophical outlook, 6; his education and studies in mysticism, 3 *ff.*; his idealism, 14-15; his mysticism, 19; his letter to Aurangzeb, 104; his interest in classical Persian literature, 132 *ff.*; his birth, 58; his tribute to Jāmī, 57; his works on Hinduism and translations from Sanskrit, 211 *sq.*; his poetry, general features of, 135; letter to Shāh Dilrubā, 65, 97; letters to Shāh Muḥibbullāh, 96–99; meets Mullā Shāh, 5; on Apostleship and Saintship, 35 *ff.*; on contemplation, 27; poetical accomplishments of, 130 *ff.*; physical austerities and, 37; progressive studies in asceticism, 11 *sq.*; refutes *Mu'tazila* and Sh'ia views, 24–26; receives Divine Injunction, 5 *ff.*; spiritual experience of, 59; scanty and meagre sources on his early life, 2; ṣūfistic leanings of, 3, 6; Sanskrit scholars associated with, 213 *ff.* selected verses of, 144; Sarmad and, 99–104; specimens of his calligraphy, 161; translations of—*Gitā*, 237; *Yoga-Vasista*, 233; *Upanishads*, 254 *ff.*; quatrains of, 145 *ff.*; *Qādiri* saint expects royal patronage from 90-91; Qādirī influence on, 66; works of, 9-10
Dār-ul-Insha, 159, 183
Dār-ul-Islām, 174
Dār-ul-Ḥikmat, 179
Debācha'i Muraqqa', 166 *sq.*
Detachment *tajrīd*, 29, 117
Devadāsis, 178
Dhā'iqa, 229
Dhāt-Baḥt, 24, 28
Dhamma, 226
Dhikr, 71, 119;—*Khafī*, 71, 73, 86 f.n.;—*Jalī*, 71
Dhyāna, 230
Dialogues of Bābā Lāl wa *Dārā Shikūh*, 239 *sq.*; place of identified, 242; references to, 242; text of, 244 *ff.*; the nature of the, 247 *sq.*
Dictionary of Islam, 78 f.n.
Dil-i-Muddawarī, 72
Dil-i-Nilofarī, 72
Dil-i-Sanowbarī, 72
Dimishqī, 179
Discourses of Mullā Shāh, 86
Divine Communion, 37 *sq.*
Divine Grace, 98

Divine Injunction, 122
Divine Knowledge, 120
Divine Will, 116
Diwān of Dārā S͟hikūh, 129 *sq.*; the extant MS. of the, 129; mentioned by *Sark͟hus͟h*, 130; features of, 135 *sq.*; *Qādirism* in the, 140; selections from the, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144
Djedir Veda, 256, 265, 271
Draśṭa, 226
Duality, 147, 148
Duperron, Anquetil, 255, 258; Latin version of the *Sirr-i-Akbar* by, 258; list of the *Upanishads*, translated by, 270 f.n.

E

Essence, 21, 152
Etherialisation (of physical body), 28 *ff.*

F

Faiḍī, 198, 205, 237; translations from Sanskrit, 205-206; translation of—*Gitā*; —*Mahābhārata*, 197
Faith (*Imān*), 89
Fanā-fil-Ḥaq (Submergence into Unity), 22 *ff.*
Fanā (annihilation), 29
Faqīr, 105
Farquhar (Outlines of Religious Literature), 240 f.n.
Farruk͟h Qalmāk (artist), 159 f.n.
Fatḥa, 226
Fatūḥāt, 12
Fayyāḍ-ul-Qawanīn, 96, 100
Firis͟hta, 185
Fitzeward (*Index of Indian Philosophical System*), 259 f.n.
Fuqr, 81, 86
Futūḥāt al-Ghaib, 124;—al-Makki, 123
Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam, 123

G

Gandha, 230
Ghrāṇa, 230
Gīta, 236 *ff.*; Persian translation of, 236—38; —*Sunbodhnī*, 237
Gnostic, 148
Gnosticism, 234
Grace (and Action), 121
Grierson, 241
God (triune aspect of), 31 *ff.*
Gopal Nā'ik, 186
Gul Afs͟hār, 204
Guls͟han-i-Rāz, 61

H

Ḥabs-i-Dam, 24, 31, 73, 126
Ḥaḍrat Bārī, 109
Ḥaḍrat-i-Wajūḍ, 28, 224
Ḥāfiẓ, 74, 132
Ḥāfiẓa, 230
Haft Raqam (Ghulām 'Alī), 158, 161.
Haft Tamāsha, 208
Ḥakīm Sanā'ī, 58
Halhed, 255
Hama Ūst (All is He), 136
Ḥaq Numā' (*Risāla'i*), 121 *ff.*; its sources, 123; contents of, 124; description of the As͟hghal in the, 125; *Qādirī* doctrines embodied in the, 71; Sālik's Journey through the Four Worlds in the, 125—128; Augury from the *Qur'ān* in the 122
Ḥaqīqat (Truth), 88-89
Haribansa-Puraṇa, 208
Harūn al-Ras͟hīd, 175, 176
Ḥasanāt-ul-'Ārifīn, 10, 11, 19, 89, 100, 105, 106, 108, 112, 132, 145, 239; aims and objects, 105; Dārā S͟hikūh's fling at his opponents in the, 106—108; Contents of the, 108; Ṣūfic Aphorisms of the Saints in the, 109 *sq.*; reference to Bābā Lāl in the, 242
Ḥijāb-i-Akbar, 97
Hiraṇyagarbha, 229

History of Fine Arts in India and Ceylon, 159
Historical Fragments of the Mughal Empire, 7, 255
History of Lahore etc., 79, 80, 81
History of Sanskrit Literature, 269, 270
Holy Prophet, 124
Hū, 226
Hū Allāh, 36 f.n.
Huart, 165
Hū hū ant hū, 116
Huwiyyat (Truth), 21 *ff*.

I

'Ibādat Khāna, 247
Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, 178
Ibn al-'Arabī, 123, 132, 137
Ibn al-Nadīm, 177
Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, 179
Ibn Ḥawqal, 179
Ibn K͟hurdād͟hbah, 178
Ibn Muqaffa', 182
Ibrāhīm 'Ādil S͟hāh, 184
Idrīsī, 179
Ihya-ul-'Ulūm, 62
Iksīr-i-A'ẓam, 10, 129, 131, 145 (see also *Dīwān* of Dārā S͟hikūh)
Illa Allāh, 32
Imām, 51, 102; at-G͟hazālī, 136; Ibrāhim Adham, 108
Incarnation (doctrine of), 240
Indian Astrology, 181 *ff*.
Indian Sciences, 174 *sq*.; contribution of Abul Faḍl, Badāūnī and others, 188 *ff*.; interest of Arab Scholars in the, 176 *ff*.; Mughal Court patronage of, 186 *ff*.; Medicine, 180; Music, 209 *ff*.; under Delhi Sultanate, 183; 18 Sciences of the Hindus, 194 *ff*.; the *Purāṇas*, 208; Razmnāma, 196 *ff*.; *Rāmāyana*, 200; patronage in Deccan and Kashmir, 185 *ff*.; *Pañchatantra*, 182; Alberūnī and the, 185; Abul Faḍl and the, 192; Amīr Khusrau and the, 186-187; the *Atharva-Veda*, 202; *the Rājatarangini*, 204; *Lilāvatī*, 206; *Katha Sarit Sangra*, 206; the *Shāriq al-Ma'rifat;* Rāgmāla, 209; *Yoga-Vasiṣtha*, 211, 233; *Majma' ul-Baḥrain*, 213, 216 *sq*.
Indo-Persian Art under the Mughals, 158 *ff*.
Infinity of Cycles, 30 *ff*.
Insān'ul Kāmil, 143
'Iraqī, 123, 132
'Ishq, 229
Islam, 9, 11, 13; Dārā Shikūh and 9-*sq*.; esoteric aspect of, 11; identity between Hinduism and, 13
Ism-i-A'ẓam, 225, 226
Isrāfīl, 225
Istak͟harī, 179
Istaghana (contentment), 86
'Iyār-i-Dānish, 196

J

Jabrūt, 127
Jagannāth Miśra, 6, 214
Jahān Āra Begum, 64, 80; copy of Diwān of Mullā S͟hāh presented to, 95 f.n.; *Ṣāḥabīya*: her biography of Mullā S͟hāh, 83—85; induced to become *Qādirī* adherent, 82, 83 *ff*.; regards her brother as a gnostic, 84; meets Mullā S͟hāh, 84, 68
Jahāngīr, 45, 59, 68, 79, 90, 171; and Mīān Mīr, 79 *ff*.; takes angury from *Dīwān-i-Ḥāfiẓ*, 59
Jāḥiz of Baṣra, 176
Jaina (School of Indian philosophy), 194
Jalāl, 38, 231; and *Jamāl*, 231
Jamāl Khatūn, 68
Jāmī, 74, 123, 132; *Lawā'iḥ* of, 133
Jasd-i-laṭīf, 73
Jibrā'il, 225
Jīvan-muktī, 227
Jñānasvrūpa, 231
Journal Asiatique, 187 f.n.

Johnson's *Collection in India Office,* 159 f.n.
J. R. A. S. B., 145
Junaidī (order), 67
Junūn (Insanity), 118 *sq.*
Jwāma'al-Maujūd bi Khawāṭir al Hunūd, 186

K

Ka'ba, 117
Kabīr, 100, 239
Kabīr-Panthīs, 240
Kalamāt-ush-Shu'ara, 131 f.n.
Kalīlāh wa Dimna, 182, 183
Kalpa, 226 f.n.
Kamāl Khujandī, 132
Kanz al-Mūsīqī, 209
Karma, 240
Karamīndriya, 230
Kārnāmah, 166
Kashf-ul-Maḥjūb, 43
Kashān, 100
Kasra, 226
Kavīndracarya Sarasvatī, 215
Kesho (artist), 159
Khafīfiyya (order), 67
Khākis, 240
Khān Bahādur Ẓafar Ḥasan, 132
Khanḍakhādayaka, 182
Khanḍapralaya, 226 f.n.
Khāqānī, 132
Khat-i-āb, 167
Khat-i-aftāb, 167
Khazīnat-ul-Aṣfiya, 130, 132
Khemkaran (artist), 159
Khird Afzā, 203
Khirqa, 38, 75
Khusrau, 132
Kitāb al-Asrār al-Mawālīd, 181
Kitāb al-Bayān, 177
Kitāb al-Bilad wal Tarīkh, 179
Kitab al-Hind, 186, 192
Kitāb al-Namūdār fi'al 'Amār, 181
Kitāb al-Masālik wal Mamālik, 178
Kitāb al-Qirānāt al-Kabīr, 181
Kitāb al-Qirānāt al-Saghīr, 181
Knowledge, 97
Koh-i-Nūr, 172
Kukaltāsh Khān, 210
Kun (Be), 224
Khwāja 'Abdul Ṣamad, 159

L

La ilāh, 32
Lailat-ul-Qadr, 78 *ff.*
Lama'āt, 12, 123; (*-al-Anwār*), 124
Lāmisa, 229
Lanepole, 18
Laṭā'if-ul-Akhbār, 2
Lauḥ-i-Maḥfūẓ, 9, 267
Law and Truth, 89
Lawāmi' (*Anwār al-Kashf*), 123
Lawā'iḥ, 12, 123
Lā Yamūtūn, 81
Le Calligraphes et les Miniatures de l'Orient Musulman, 165 f.n.
Lily Heart, 125
Lisānullāh, 81
Literary History of Persia, 68-69
Love, 156, 157

M

Ma'āthir-ul-Umerā', 2, 186
Ma'dan ush-Shifa'i Sikandarī, 184
Madhyama, 231
Mahābhārata, 196 *ff.*; 237; see also *Razmnāma.*
Mahādeva (Isrāfīl), 259
Mahākaśa, 225
Mahāpralaya, 226 f.n.
Mahāvakyamuktāvali, 269
Mahā-Visṇū Purāna, 208
Mahesh (artist), 159 f.n.
Maheśvara, 225
Maḥfūẓ-ul-Ḥaq, 161
Māhiya, 25
Majāzī (phantasmal), 88
Majma'-ul-Baḥrain, 10, 13, 14, 19, 26, 145, 216 *sq.*; aims of the author, 216-217; character of the work, 217; great human interest underlying the, 218; its preface, 219; the contents of the, 220-221 contemporary criticism of the, 221;

comparative value, 222; on *Rūḥ* or *Ātmān*, 224; conception of sound, 224; on Names of God, 226; on Ressurrection, 226; on *Muktī*, 227; on Senses, 230; on God's Attributes, 231
Makāra, 226
Makhtum, 51
Mamūn, 175
Manas, 231
Manṣab, 158
Manṣūr Hallāj, 139, 155
Manucci, 3, 16, 103
Maqdisī, 179
Maqṭa', 131
Marāqaba, 71
Martin, 160 f.n.
Masālik wal Mamālik, 178
Mashāhids, 67
Mas'ūdi, 179
Mathnawī Nal wa Daman, 206; —literature, 133;—*'i Ma'nawī*, 133
Māya, 229
Max: Müller, 256, 257, 259
Maẓhar-i-Atmām, 226
Mīāṇ Mīr, 32, 33, 40, 45, 47, 65, 68, 81, 141; life and miracles of, 76 *sq.;* on Mullā Shāh, 86; Shāh Jahān and, 77
Mikā'il, 225
Miṃansa, 194
Miniatures (in the Album of Dārā Shikūh), 172 *ff*.
Mīr 'Alī al-Kātib, 169
Mīr 'Imād, 160
Mīr Sayyid 'Alī (artist), 159 f.n.
Mi'rāj (Ascent of the Prophet), 30
Mir'āt-ul-Khayāl, 80, 100, 101, 134
Mir'āt-ul-Ḥaqā'iq, 237
Mirza Abdur Raḥīm Khānkhānān, 169 f.n.
Mirza Muḥsin Fānī, 80, 101
Mirza Raḍī Dānish, 134
Mischel Franz, 258
Mithāl, 126
Mu'in-ud-Dīn Chishtī, 1, 43, 43
Mufarriḥ al-Qalūb, 209
Mufrid, 51
Muhalal Yanbū'ī, 179
Muhammad bin Isḥāq, 169
Muḥammad Ḥusain (*Zarrīn-Raqam*), 169
Muḥammad (Ḥusain) al-Kāshmīri, 169
Muḥammad Kātib, 169
Muḥammad Sulṭān Thānīsarī, 196
Muḥāsibiyya (order), 67
Muḥibbs, 67
Mu'iz-ud-Dīn Jahāndār Shāh, 210
Mukālama Bābā Lāl Dās wa Dārā Shikūh, 100, 212, 213, 239 *ff.;* see also *Dialogues of Bābā Lāl wa Dārā Shikūh*
Mukāshafs, 67
Muktī, 227 ff.
Muktikā-Upanishad, 269
Mullā, 139
Mullā 'Abdul Qādir Badāūnī, 188, 196 *ff*.
Mullā 'Adul Laṭīf Sulṭānpurī, 3
Mullā Khwāja, 137
Mullā Sa'd-ud-Dīn Kāshgharī, 137
Mullā Shāh, 4, 5, 47, 64, 65, 68, 70, 80, 82, 85, 86, 87, 88, 90, 91, 94, 95, 96, 100, 130, 141, 264; and other Saints, 80 *sq.;* a mystic and a free-thinker, 87-88; aphorisms of, 94; expects royal patronage of *Qādirī* order, 90-91; miracles of, 93 *ff.;* meets Dārā Shikūh, 5, 82 *ff.;* poetry of, 95-96; simple life of, 87; spiritual and intellectual attainments of, 85-86; *Ṣāḥabīya* (account in the), 80 *ff*.
Mullā Shīrī, 196
Mulūk-Dāsīs, 240
Mumukshuvyavahāra-prakaraṇam, 236
Muṇdiaya, 248
Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh, 238
Muntakhab-ul-Lubāb, 2, 45 f.n.
Muntakhab-ul-Lughāt, 160
Muraqqa' (Album of Dārā

Shikūh), 158, 159, 160, 167, 170, 172; artists and Calligraphers in the, 159; contents of the, 167 *ff.*; its value in Indo-Persian Art, 172; Dārā Shikūh's preface to the, 166 *ff.*; miniatures in the, 172 *sq.*; suggests unity of calligraphy and miniature, 168; style of its miniatures, 172
Murīds, 67
Musāfir, 143
Mushkīn Raqam (poet and calligraphist), 170 f.n.
Mushāhada (contemplation), 27, 43, 78
Mushtark (sense), 230
Muslim Kingdoms of Kashmir and Deccan, 184
Muslim travellers and historians, 178
Mutafakkira (sense), 230
Mutakhayyila (sense), 230
Muwaḥḥids, 67
Muwakkins, 67

N

Nāda, 224
Nādira Begum, 168
Nādir-ul-Nikāt, 243
Nafaḥāt-ul-Uns, 61, 68
Namāz (in relation to *sukr*), 88
Naqshbandī (order), 47, 67
Naskh, 161
Nasta'līq, 161
Nāstikya, 232 f.n.
Nāsūt, 128
Necessary Self, 226
Nigāristān-i-Munīr, 165
Nirākāra, 226
Nirañjana, 226
Nirvāṇa-prakaraṇam, 236
Niẓām-ud-Dīn (Awliyā'), 45
Nuqba, 51
Nūr, 38, 39, 40; and *Nūr-i-Dhāt,* 38–40;–*un'ala nūr,* 40
Nūriyya (order), 67

O

Om (*Ism-i-A'ẓam*), 225;–*naman* (*Hū Allāh*), 260
Oupnekhat, 254, 256; the number of the, 269 *ff.*

P

Pādshāhnāma, 2, 3, 80, 168 f.n.
Pañchabhūta, 228 *ff.*
Pañchaindriyānī, 229
Panjsūra, 163
Path, 152
Pātañjali, 186
Pātañjala, 194
Perfect Man, 143
Perstch, 246 f.n.
Pīr-i-Dastgīr, 122
Pure Self, 28
Prāṇa, 230 f.n.
Pseudo-ascetic, 139
Psychic Sound, 149
Purāṇtha-Prakasa, 208
Purity of Mind, 116
Physical austerities, 37 *ff.*

Q

Qaḍā-o-Qadr, 25
Qādir, 137, 138, 226
Qādirī (*nom de plume* of Dārā Shikūh), 80, 124, 129, 131, 137, 138, 143, 144
Qādirī (order), 4, 5, 17, 68, 71, 72, 75. Dārā Shikūh's initiation into the, 5;–fraternity, 17; doctrines, 71; line of succession in the, 122; religious exercises of the, 71 *ff.*; supernatural element in the, 68 *ff.*; symbolism, 75; system of meditation, 72, character of mysticism, 47; its founder, 46; its advent into India, 47
Qādirites, 68, 71 *ff.*; 75
Qiyāmat, 226; *-i-Kubra,* 226;–*-i-Saghra,* 226
Qur'ān, 8, 9, 24, 25, 26, 30, 34, 36, 38, 39, 101, 122, 163, 226, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269
Qutub, 51

R

Rāḍis, 67
Rāḥyūn, 51
Rāj Taringīnī, 185, 204 *ff*.
Rajoguṇa, 232
Rām Chandra, 235
Rāmayaṇa, 200, 201, 202 *ff*.
Rasa, 230
Rasanā, 230
Razmnāma, 189, 196 *ff*., 237; see also *Mahābhārata*
Reality, 19, 150
Realisation of Self, 144
Realisation of Unity, 141 *ff*.
Reason (*'Aql*), 118
Regnand (*Philosophical de l' Inde*), 259 f.n.
Relativity, 153
Ressurrection, 226, 227
Riāḍ-ul-Shu'ra, 100
Riḍā (quietism), 86
Riḍwān-i-Akbar, 227
Rik Beid (*Rig-Veda*), 256, 265, 271
Risāla'i Ḥaq Numā', 4, 5, 9, 19, 20, 21, 42, 71, 115, 121–128, 145, 213; date of composition, 121; devotional exercises in the, 71; contents of the, 124; *Sālik's* Journey in the, 125 *ff*.; Qādirī Ashghal in the, 125; sources of the, 123; style and the language of the, 124-125
Risāla-i-Ḥikmat-i-Arasṭh, 163
Risāla-'i Ma'ārif, 113
Risā'il-i-Taṣawwuf, 113
Rūḥ, 218, 220
Rūḥ-i-A'ẓam, 28, 229 f.n.
Rūmī, 132
Rūpa, 230
Ruq'āt-i-'Ālamgīr, 6, 96, 104
Rūyat (Vision of God), 23, 26, 221, 226; the doctrine of, 23 *sq*.; the views of the Muta-'azilites and the *Shi'ites* regarding the, 24 f.n., 26

S

Śabda, 225, 230
Ṣābiqs, 67
Sacred Books of the East, 256 *f.n.*
Sa'dī, 132
Ṣādiqs, 67
Ṣafī Mirza, 70
Safīnat-ul-Awliyā', 1, 4, 10, 19, 33, 42, 46, 44-63, 108, 132, 145, 161; Aphorisms of Saints in the, 52 *ff*.; authorities quoted in the, 61; Autograph MS. of the, 1 f.n.; character of Qādirī mysticism in the, 47 *ff*.; classification of the saints in the, 49–51; Epilogue of the, 56; important persons and orders noticed in the, 53–56; preface to the, 48-49; references to author's life in the, 56–61; some minor notes on the, 62-63; Ṣūfi orders in the, 43-44; the *Qādirī* sect and its founder in the, 46-47
Saḥ, 226
Ṣāḥabīya (Biography of Mullā Shāh), 80 *ff*.
Saints, 43, 48; aphorisms of the, 94, 105–112; classification of the, 49-50; gradation of the, 51; in the *Safīnat-ul-Awliyā'*, 52-53; in the *Sakīnat-ul-Awliyā'*, 64 *sq*.; miracles of the 69-70; Mullā Shāh and other, 80 *ff*.; of Miscellaneous orders, 55; of *Naqshbandī order*, 54; of *Kubrawī* order, 55 of the *Qādirī* order, 54; of the *Suhrawardī* order, 55; supernatural elements in the order of the, 68; system of meditations, 72–77; religious exercises of the, 71 *sq*.
Sakīnat-ul-Awliyā', 4, 5, 9, 19, 65–104; aphorisms noted in the, 94; aims of the author of the, 64; Astro-Mental Plane described in, 73; Introduction to the, 67; its contents, 69; *Dhikr* described in, 71; Mīāṇ Mīr's life and miracles in, 76 *ff*.; Mullā Shāh's life in the, 80–90; the *Lailat-ul-Qadr* in the,

78; Qādirī doctrines embodied in the, 71 *ff*.; record of lives and miracles of saints, 66; *Sulṭān-ul-Adhkār*, 73; the twelve *ṭwā'if* described, 67
Sakśatkāra, 226
Sālik, 118, 126; Journey of the through four worlds, 125 *sq*.
Sāliks, 67
Salīm Chishtī (Shaikh), 45
Salvation, 227
Samartha, 226
Sām Beid, 256, 265, 272
Sāmī', 226
Sāmi'a, 229
Saṃkalpa, 231 f.n.
Samudrasaṅgama, 213
Saṅkhya-Sūtra, 233
Sanā'ī, 132
Śankarācharya, 258 f.n., 259 f.n.
Sānkhya, 186, 194
Sāṇwala, 159 f.n.
Sārīrak-sthān, 184
Sarmad, 64, 100 *sq*.; Dārā Shikūh meets, 101; his tragic end, 103 *ff*.
Sarvamuktī, 227
Sarva-Vidyā-nidhāna, 215
Sattva, 231
Sattva-chitta, 226
Sattvaguṇa, 232
Sayyid 'Alī al-Ḥussaini, 170
Sayyed-uṭ-Ṭā'ifa Junaid, 137
Schopenhaur, 257
Sena-Panthīṣ, 240
Senses, 230 *ff*.
Separation (*tafrīd*), 29
Shāh (see Mullā Shāh)
Shāh Dilruba, 5, 65
Shairyār, 177
Shāh Jahān, 48, 68, 101, 103, 131; visits Mīāṇ Mīr, 77
Shāh Muḥammad Lisānullāh Rostakī, 5
Shāh Muḥibullāh, 5, 100
Shāh Muḥayi-ud-Dīn, 122
Shaikh 'Abbās bin Yūsuf al-Shaklī, 136
Shaikh Abū 'Abdullāh Khafīf, 137
Shaikh 'Abdullāh Anṣārī, 109, 136
Shaikh 'Abdullāh Balyānī, 137
Shaikh Abū Bakr al-Waṣitī, 136
Shaikh Abul 'Abbās, 136
Shaikh Abū Madīn Maghribī, 136
Shaikh Abū Ṣāliḥ Damishqī, 109
Shaikh Abdul Qādīr Jīlānī, 137
Shaikh Farīd, 136
Shaikh Kamāl Muḥammad (Khūb Tarang), 208
Shaikh Mīāṇ Mīr, 122
Shaikh Mir (see also Mīāṇ Mir), 111
Shaikh Sūfi, 235
Shamma, 229
Shams al-Aṣwāt, 209
Shams-i-Tabrīz, 132
Sharaḥ-i-Diwān-i-Ḥāfiẓ, 164
Shāriq al-Ma'rafat, 206 *sq*.
Shari'at (Law), 88-89
Shaṭhiyāt, 108
Shirk, 141
Shiva-Purāṇa, 208
Silsilat-ut-Tawarīkh, 178 f.n.
Siṇhasanadvatrinsati, 203 ff.
Siphar Shikūh, 16
Sirr-i-Akbar, 4, 8, 10, 82, 130, 213, 254 *sq*.; contents of the 255; Glossary of (Sanskrit—Persian) in the, 287—292; Dibācha of, 260—264; method of transliteration in the, 273; list of the *Upanishads* in the, 271 *ff*.; Latin version of the, 256; MSS. used in the preparation of the Text, 286-287; number of *Upanishads* in different MSS. of the, 254 f.n.; quality of the translation, 276; the Text of the, 275 ff.; the Translation, 256 *ff*.; Translation of the Preface, 264—268; Text with original Sanskrit, 277 *ff*.
Śiva, 225
Siyar-ul-Mutā'khkhrīn, 2
Skanda-Purāṇa, 208
Ślokas, 276

Smith (*A History of Fine Arts in India and Ceylon*), 160 f.n.
Soul (conception of), 223-224
Soul of Souls, 28
Sound, 220, 224 *sq.*
Sparśa, 230
Spirit (transformation with matter), 27-28
Spiritual guide, 49
Srīmad Bhāgwatgīta, 237
Śrota, 226
Sthitī-prakaraṇam, 236
Storia de Mogor, 100
Studies in Islamic Mysticism, 22 f.n.
Studies in Mughal India, 3
Śuddha, 224
Ṣūfi orders, 43; their influence on Indian mind, 44
Ṣūfic Aphorisms, 10, 52, 108
Ṣūfism, 123
Suhailiyya (order), 67
Suhrawardi (order), 47, 67
Sukśma Śarira, 225 f.n.
Sulaimān Tājir, 178
Sulūk, 35
Sukr (State of), 88
Sultan 'Alā-ud-Dīn K͟hilji, 186
Sultan Ibrāhīm 'Ādil S͟hāh, 185
Sulṭān-ul-Ad͟hkār, 73, 126, 127, 225
Sultan Muḥammad K͟handān, 169
Sunnah, 96
Supreme Self, 153
Sūtra-Sthān, 184
Śwetāswatāra-Upanishad, 259 f.n.

T

Ṭabaqāt-ul-Ummam, 178
Tad͟hkira'i K͟hus͟hnawīsān, 158, 160, 161
Tad͟hkirat-ul-Awliyā', 61, 68
Tad͟hkira'i 'Ulama'i Hind, 3 f.n.
Tafrīd (Separation), 29
Tagore (One hundred Poems of Kabīr), 247 f.n.
Taḥqiqāt-i-C͟his͟htiyya, 81
Ṭaifūriyya (order), 67
Tājak (work on Astronomy), 209
Tajrīd (detachment), 29, 86
Tamoguṇa, 232
Tara (Artist), 159 f.n.
Tārik͟h-i-S͟hujā'ī, 2
Tārik͟hi-i-Kashmīr, 81
Tārik͟h-i-Muḥammadī, 160 f.n.
Ṭarīqat (Path), 35, 114; exposition of, 88-89
Ṭarīq-i-Faḍl, 37
Ṭarīq-i-Mujāhadat, 37
Ṭarīqat-ul-Ḥaqīqat, 10, 19, 113—120, 133; its contents, 115; its expository character, 113; the author's aims, 114; the 30 *Manzils* in the, 115 *sq.*; on devotion, 117; on *Juz-o-kul,* 117; on Fixity, 117; on conversion of minds, 118; Discussion between '*Aql* (Reason) and *Junūn* (Insanity), 118-119; on submission to Divine Will, 116
Tarjuma'i Barahi, 184
Tarjuma'i Mahābharat, 196; see also *Razmnāma.*
Tarjuma'i Parijataka, 209
Tark (renunciation), 86
Taslīm (submission), 86
Tavernier (*Travels*), 168
Tawakkul (faith in God), 86
Tawakkul Beg, 80, 81
Tawḥīd (Unity of God), 20-21, 146, 147, 152, 264, 268
Ṭibb-i-Sikandrī, 184
Translations (from Sanskrit), 190; the two methods of, 191 *ff.*; the quality of the, 191-192; of the *Yoga-Vasishṭa,* 234-35
Triguṇa, 226, 231
Trimūrtī, 232
Triśṭubhs, 276
Truth, 19, 21 *ff.*; 145, 147, 149, 154
Tuḥfa'i Majlis, 211
Tuḥfat-ul-Hind, 210
Tvak, 230

U

Ukāra, 226
Ulema, 107

'Umar Khayyām, 136
Ū-manam (He is I), 33 f.n.
Unity of God, 7, 8, 9, 20 *ff*., 98, 105, 109, 146, 147, 151, 152, 264, 268; see also *Tawḥīd*.
Universal Person, 22, 97
Universal Self, 29
Upanishads, 6, 8, 82, 130, 213, 255, 271; see also *Sirr-i-Akbar*
Upaśama-prakaraṇaṁ, 236
Utpatti-prakaraṇaṁ, 236
Uwais, 75
'Uyūn al-Inbā' fī Ṭabaqāt al Aṭibbā', 178

V

Vairāgya-prakarṇaṁ, 236
Vaiseshika, 194
Vasaris, 173
Vedānta, 12, 194
Vedic-Upanishads, 270
Vision of God, 23, 146; five kinds of, 26 *ff*.; see also *Rūyat*.
Visible World, 125
Viśṇū (*Mikā'il*), 232, 225, 259
Viśṇū-purāṇa, 226 f.n.
Voice of Silence, 73; see also *Sulṭān ul-Adhkār*
Vyakta, 226

W

Waḥī, 226
Wāhima (sense), 230
Walad, Bahā-ud-Dīn Sulṭān, 164
Waṣti, 164
Weber, 233, 269
Wilson, 239 f.n.
Winternitz, W., 254

Y

Yanbū'ī, 177
Ya'qūbi, 179
Yār, 124
Yazīd, 102
Yoga-Sūtra, 233
Yoga (system), 12
Yoga-Vaisiśṭa (*Vasishṭa*), 6, 10, 233, 234, 235

Z

Zaidiyya (order), 67
Zain-ud-Dīn Maḥmūd Kātib, 169
Zain al-'Ābdaṁ Shāh, 184
Zait, 40
Z. D. M. G., 269 f.n.
Zeb-ul-Nisa, 160
Zend-Avesta, 256

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